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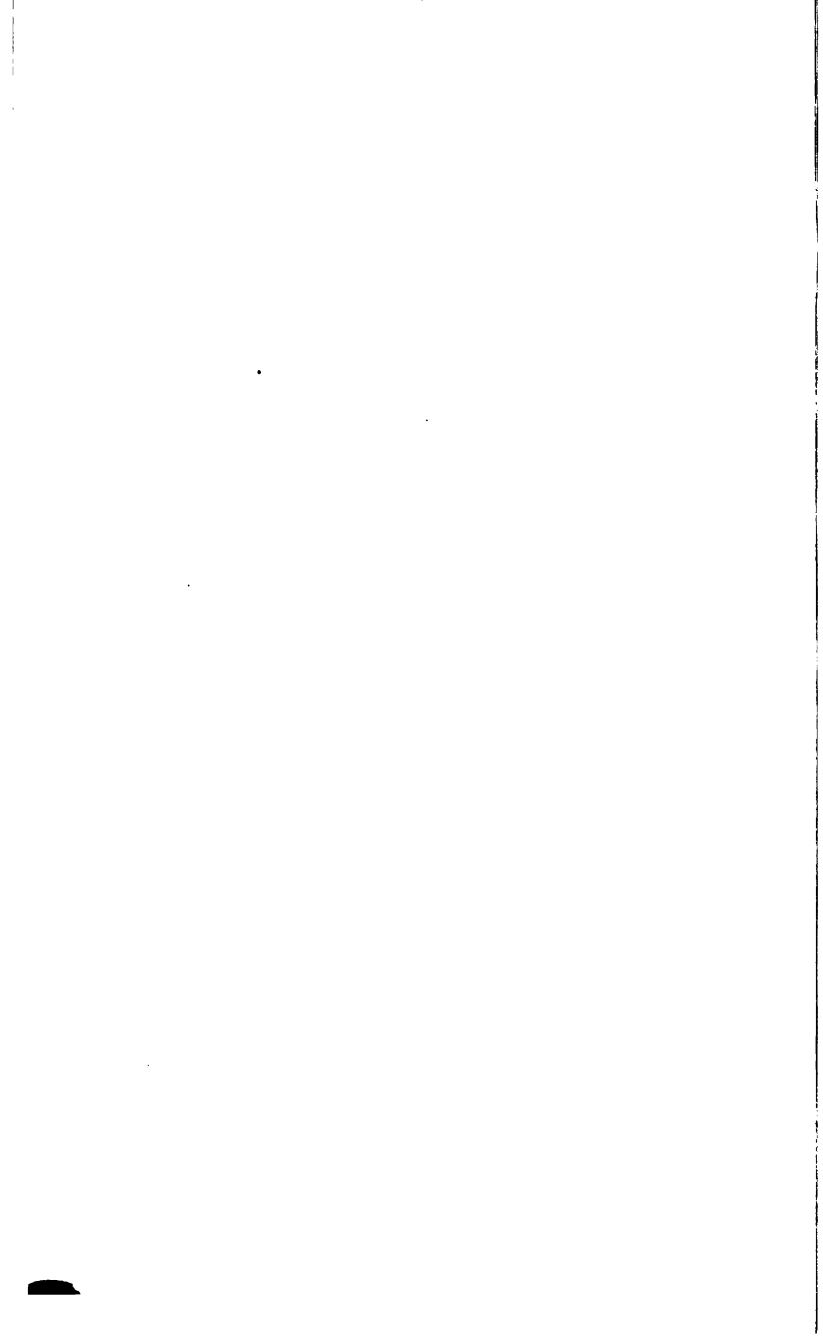
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THE
PLANTATION OF IRELAND:

OR

A Review of the Origin and History

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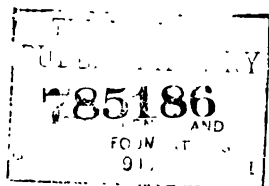
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HER EARLIER COLONIAL SETTLEMENTS.

BY JOHN JOHNSTON KELSO, M.D.

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85



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CONTENTS.

THE EARLIER COLONIAL SETTLEMENTS OF IRELAND,

OF ASIATIC ORIGIN :—

	PAGE.
I.—The Settlement by the Daughters of Cain, and Seth, Son of Adam,	11
II.—The Partholanian Settlement, .. .	18
III.—The Nemedian Settlement,	27

OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN :—

IV.—The Fomorian Settlement,	40
V.—The Firbolgian Settlement,	44
VI.—The Tuatha-de-Danain Settlement,	52
VII.—The Milesian Settlement,	57
VIII.—Conclusion,	77

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

As in the case of individuals, so in that of national communities, a vast proportion of the earlier circumstances or events in relation to their history resemble in effect the physical feelings of pleasure or of pain, which no sooner cease sensibly to influence than they begin gradually to fade out of the recollection, and come at length to be no more remembered. The product, and topic or thought, of the passing hour, events such as these, equally as in the case of the units of time or of the phenomena of the seasons or months in the physical calendar, are remarkable at least for their fugitiveness—each successively disappearing to give way to another, which is destined itself to be not more abiding than the rest. Here fluctuations of motive or feeling perform the principal part in the ever-changing drama. The realities of previous observation or experience are lost sight of or obscured in the incitements incident to the actual present. Characters and scenes by which, in other and more favourable circumstances, the imagination and memory might have been more or less enduringly impressed, speedily lose their uncertain hold and disappear. Indeed, whatever the ultimate effect, in relation to the formation or moulding of national character, of ideal memories thus grounded—and in this respect it can scarcely be viewed as a negative power, impotent of result—of their proneness, practically at least, to early forgetfulness there can be no doubt. The relics of conscious thought, they come thus to number among the party-complexioned “alms” which Time imperiously as sedulously gleans but to consign to the limbo of a hopeless oblivion.

Still, some impressions of objects or things undoubtedly there yet are which, no less in the infancy of nations than in that of

2
in shadows
all

individuals, influence the imagination or memory so strongly that they seem never to be absolutely forgotten, "but," as forcibly remarked by Hugh Miller, "live as traditions, sometimes mayhap very vague, and much modified by the inventions of an after time, but which, in floating downwards to late ages, always bear about them a certain strong impress of their pristine reality. They are shadows that have become ill-defined from the vast distance of the objects that cast them—like the shadows of great birds flung in a summer's day from the blue depths of the sky to the landscape far below, but whose very presence, however diffused they may have become, testifies to the existence of the remote realities from which they are thrown, and without which they could have had no being at all." With shadowy traditions of this kind—shadows of the world's "grey fathers"—the old mythologies are largely filled; but it needs scarcely be observed that, when incidentally appealed to in the light of historical evidence, these hoar traditions, or their mythological embodiment, should ever be scrupulously estimated at their probable worth.

Especially, it would seem, is this the case in regard to those traditional fragments that relate to the primeval settlements of Ireland. For, admitting that these musty poetical *morceaux* as they have come down to us—old enough, doubtless, in themselves, but possibly not half so old as the subject matters which they profess to recount—are grounded in reality, it must yet be clearly borne in mind that they one and all bear about them much that largely affects their credibility, and consequently their value as materials for purposes of history. The infinitesimal particle of truth of which, by implication, they may respectively be the vehicle is so densely overlaid by fiction or fable as, for the most part, to render its apprehension matter of no slight difficulty and doubt. "The bardic story of Ireland, as collected by Keating and others, contains," says Dr. Prichard, "a wild and grotesque mixture of the rhapsodies of a poetical fancy, with legends taken from Scriptural and profane history, blended together with

more absurd anachronisms than the fabulous history of any other country in Christendom presents."

If, indeed, the legendary story generally of Ireland really merits a critical denunciation so sweeping as this, all inquiry in reference to the subject of the following observations might not unnaturally be deemed as next to vain. But the tracings of the picture, as graphically sketched by its able and accomplished author, may probably be found to have been in some respects a little too darkly drawn.

In seeking, however, to make out the ethnical origin or affinities of the different tribes by whom Ireland was peopled, the chief grounds for such conclusions as may with greater probability be deduced, are clearly to be sought in evidence external to the bardic period, not internal. Thus, in briefly glancing at the story of these tribes, the different propositions advocated are argued from external and independent historical testimony, such at least as leisure extra-professional reading may have placed at my disposal. The fabulous account, indeed, is in no case omitted; but, in presenting an outline of the history of each, the probable elements implied are tested, so to speak, by the facts of general history and natural knowledge, and are thus elucidated or corrected by processes of comparison and reasoning. Such is the simple plan on which the inquiry throughout has been conducted.

It remains but to add that the lecture, as originally delivered, forms a portion only of the present essay. To confer on the production a certain show of unity and completeness, it naturally occurred to me that some account ought to be furnished at the same time, not of some of the more noted of the earlier settlements of Ireland only, but of all together. But this, of course, could not be done in the compass of a single lecture. As it now stands, much of the work, therefore, is new. If those kind friends deemed such part of it as was publicly read sufficiently worthy of being put into permanent form, it is hoped that the matter since added may not prove inferior in character or interest to the rest.

Yet, did I not feel myself too far committed to the Lisburn Literary Society, or its representative body, I should not improbably even now have abandoned the idea of publication altogether. For the revocation, if admissible, of a resolution, the whole force and consequences of which I failed at first fully to estimate and appreciate, I am not, indeed, without self sufficient reasons. There is, as I am reminded, the wholesome practical rule implied in the good old homely maxim, *ne sutor ultra crepidam*, open infringement of which, as in the present case, presupposes at the same time, or should presuppose, a strong plea of justification in defence. But, in extenuation of the breach of a principle inherently sound as this, any justifiable reasons assignable might, I am much afraid, prove unsatisfactory. Then, on the finger-post that points the way to merest literary achievement, do we not read in conspicuous characters the terribly self-probing inscription *Γυῶθι σεαυτὸν*? But, conformably to the modest design that best befits me, in shortly directing attention to a generally but little or ill understood subject, a slight but well-merited compliment is thereby sought to be paid to an institution which has great and increasing claims on the friends of educational, and mental and moral progress. It is to be regretted that the effort itself is in no respect quite worthy the sentiment which influences, but of which it may yet, perhaps, be accepted as in some sort the expression.

J. J. K.

LISBURN, January, 1865.

THE PLANTATION OF IRELAND;
OR,
HER EARLIER COLONIAL SETTLEMENTS:
THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND BY THE DAUGHTERS OF CAIN, AND SETH, SON OF ADAM.

SOME hundreds of years before the Deluge, according to the most ancient Irish MSS,*

"The three fair daughters of the cursed Cain,
With Seth, the son of Adam, first beheld
The Isle of Bauba."†

Soon afterwards, other people (three men and fifty women) followed. But, forty years after its foundation, the entire colony succumbed, in the course of a week, from the effects of a plague. The island then remained uninhabited, it is said, for some 500 years more, the Flood of Noah meantime having so destructively supervened.‡

Now, ludicrously wild and fanciful as this hoar tradition in relation to the primeval plantation of Ireland may appear, is it yet to be at once and unceremoniously set aside as absolutely meaningless? If, on the contrary, it may be regarded not as wholly mythical or untrue, but as in reality implying, however vaguely and indistinctly, an elementary idea, what, the question occurs, is the probable character and value of such idea?

In connection with the name of Cain, who in character and habits is the antithesis of Abel, other ideas than that of criminality merely suggest themselves. He is, for instance, historically recognised as the progenitor of a division or race of men, according to habits of life, being admittedly the type of the non-Semitic tribes—the patriarch equally of those who live in cities, who bear arms and till the ground. Nor is he merely the representative head of the social city-building and agricultural Arian, of whom the Celt must be regarded as the first great and important lop-off, but of the aborigines of Asia, the vast Turanian or Scythic race.§ Should the tradition, then, be considered as

* *Keating, History of Ireland*, 1723.

† The elder of the three sisters was called Bauba.—*Keating*, as above, page 10.

‡ *Keating, loc. cit.*

§ See *Bunsen's Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iv., p. 426.

historically grounded, may it not be reasonably inferred that the fundamental but misty notion which it apparently implies is darkly designative of an ethnical connection between the Celtic branch of this mighty and formative race and the stray migratory or fugitive people by whom Ireland was first temporarily planted?

Much more distinctly implied in it, however, is the principle or practice of migration. No doubt in course of human development, dating back to the most primeval times, migrations pushed out in lines that radiated in different directions from an originally circumscribed geographical centre—man's birthplace and cradle. Of these the first in order, undoubtedly, was that of Cain, who, according to the Chevalier Bunsen, corresponds to the Technites, or Artist, in Phœnician mythology. Its direction, however, was not Westward but Eastward, the land to which the Fratricide emigrated lying to the East of the supposed primitive residence in Asia.*

Certainly, by far the more celebrated and important of the earlier Western migrations was that which issued in the colonisation of Egypt. The date of immigration into that historic region from the district about the Upper Euphrates and Tigris we indeed know not; but it must at least be referred back to a period of several centuries before the age of Menes, the probable founder of Egyptain monarchy. The evidence in favour of a very high antiquity of this remarkable and many-sided people is not, indeed, to be contested; but to assign the national beginning, with Baron Bunsen, to about the middle of the tenth century before the Christian era† would be to throw back the creation of man to an

* The cradle of our race, according to the Chevalier Bunsen, was in Northern Asia. "Here it arose," he says, "at the most favourable period for our Northern Hemisphere, in that region now for the most part uninhabitable, which extends South-West as far as the 40th degree of North latitude, and from the 60th to the 100th degree of longitude. On the North this district was bounded at about the 53d degree by what was then the open North Sea, with the Ural for an island; on the East it was surrounded by the Altai and the Chinese Himalaya; on the South by the chain of the Paropamisus, extending from Asia Minor to Eastern Asia; and on the West by the Caucasus and Ararat. We have therefore a primeval country, containing on an average eleven degrees of latitude and 40 degrees of longitude. In this garden of delight (Eden), with its four streams—the Euphrates and Tigris on the West, the Oxus and Jaxartes on the East—during thousands of years, man had soared above the first stage of consciousness"—*Loc. cit.* p. 556. *Vide Lyell, Principles of Geology*, vol. ii., p. 38.

† According to the dates furnished by the Egyptian lists of kings, which the Chevalier Bunsen is disposed to accept generally as historical, Egypt was an organised state 5,863 years prior to Menes (B.C. 3,623)—during which period it possessed a language, and in part of it a written character. In reply to the question—"What is the lasting gain to mankind of these last 6,000 years?"—

all 12 names in account
in the Genealogies are merely
descriptive - not historical

... 40 A.C. ...

epoch which the comparatively recent geological discoveries at Abbeville and Amiens, in the Valley of the Somme, as well as in the Southern and South-Western parts of England, fail, apparently, to afford the requisite corroborative proof.* Egyptian life, which took its inception in one of the oldest and more noted waves of population Westward, is surely hoar enough, without investing it with a duration in time that probably savours of the fabulous.

On the other hand, the migration not improbably of a band of the Tatar or Mongolian race†, which resulted in the primeval settlement of continental America, forms an event in the earlier history of human dispersion which, in its chief attendant circumstances, at least as they may be imagined, reduces to comparative insignificance the Asiatic immigration into the valley of the Nile. Long ages ago, as may be known, the Aztecs of the valley and plains of Mexico counted as a populous, if not civilized nation.‡

is profoundly and eloquently observed—"Little and yet much—much, too, that is glorious—much, indeed, that will outlive the pyramids themselves, if the whole history of the world is not lost. Egypt during its historical period was not merely the granary of Palestine and Syria, but the model country for the civilisation of the West, as China was in the East; and, like China, it was in later times its venerable mummy. It was the intervening link between the primeval world and the new world—the connecting link between Asia and Africa—stretching, through Alexandria into the old and modern life of Europe—the chronometer of the races and nations which in the earliest ages spread their influence over the globe. And this insignificant relic of the Antediluvian age is still inhabited by the descendants of the Pharaonic era, who, after a bondage of nearly 2,000 years, furnish scribes for their masters as their fathers did."—*Egypt's Place in Universal History* (Cotterell's Translation) vol. iv., pp. 635-6.

* See Sir C. Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, chs. 7, 8, 9.

† The central and Western countries of Europe that were possessed of inhabitants were peopled by the Turanian or Tatar race, when, in the latter half of the 7th century B.C., the Cimmerians, or Cymry, flowed Westward before the Scythas. This race, when it existed, everywhere yielded to them, becoming gradually absorbed, or else driven Northward, where it is found at the present day in the persons of the Finns, Esths, and Lappes.—*Rawlinson's Herod*, appendix to book iv., vol. iii., p. 188.

‡ The tradition of the origin of the old Mexican Empire in bands of adventurers from the Seven Caves, in the Aleutian chain of islands, rests upon the best authority we have of the Toltec race, supported by the oral opinion of the Aztecs in 1519." (*Dr. Schoolcraft, LL.D., History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Part I., p. 26). In reference to the Chicimees, a rude Mexican people of the Toltec lineage, Colonel Smith, of Edinburgh, would appear to have been the first observer who threw out the idea that they were a migration of the Mongolic or Tatar stock, interpreting the word "Caves" to be figurative of a vessel or canoe. With respect to the aboriginal American tribes, Rear-Admiral Fitzroy, in a paper read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at the Dublin meeting, in 1837, observes that they "all have been found by travellers and the learned to derive their origin more or less directly from Central Asia."

But, in respect of the sum of the collective periods of their national development, and decline, and decay, it may not but be reckoned by centuries, possibly by millenniums. In vain at least we look for their descendants in the present day. Like the Scythians, to whom they would appear to have borne some resemblance, they have been swept away by the irresistible current of immigration; and, except in the sepulchral mounds which cover the land of their former residence, and in the pages of the historian and ethnologist, not a trace now remains to tell of their past existence.*

But to presume to argue from cases such as these in favour of the probability of an Antediluvian settlement of Ireland by a stray squad of purposeless wanderers, impliedly of the Arian stock, would be simply preposterous. The admissibility of the idea, extravagant in itself, is opposed on other grounds indeed than that of the absolutely impossible; for, as is known, many earlier migrational movements—as that of the Aztec or Toltecan—have not been interrupted or seriously impeded by seas of much greater extent and more subject to storms than that by which Ireland is separated from either of the neighbouring countries of continental Europe. On the other hand, for anything we know to the contrary, Ireland, in respect to its physical and atmospheric conditions, was equally well fitted to become the abode of man during the era at which the action of this tradition is laid, as in either of the long subsequent ages. Looking at the comparatively high geological antiquity of the island, and on the assumption of the principle of the uniformity of the laws of nature, one should, it is submitted, no more be justified in opposing the probability of this view than in seriously contending against the various facts and arguments that have been advanced in proof that the Noachian Deluge was a universal, instead of in reality a localised catastrophe.† Still who, in accordance with this tradition, might care

* The plains of the Mississippi Valley were occupied for ages before the French and British colonists settled there by a nation of much older date and more advanced in the arts than the Red Indians whom the Europeans found there (*Sir C. Lyell's Antiquity of Man*, p. 39, quoting from Messrs. Squire and Davis, in their scientific investigation of the ancient monuments of the Mississippi Valley). "In the hundreds of mounds in this, and especially in the valleys of the Ohio and its tributaries, which have served, some of them for temples, others for outlook or defence, and others for sepulture, the unknown people by whom they were constructed—judging from the form of the several skulls dug out of the burial places—were of the Mexican or Toltecan race."

† In *The Testimony of the Rocks* (Lectures 7 and 8), the late Mr. Hugh Miller concludes his elaborate and masterly review of the facts and arguments both in favour of, and antagonistic to, the view of the universality of the Noachian Deluge, by observing that "I have accomplished my purpose if I have shown, as was attempted of old by divines such as Stillingfleet and Poole, that

overmuch to maintain that the empire of animate nature in our apparently already habitable ocean isle was in reality subordinated to the higher empire of man, not of the Scythic but Arian stock, over at least five thousand years ago? Chronologically, then, the tradition must be viewed as wholly groundless.

As to the heroines of the immigrant party, why, it may be asked, is the number as traditionally sketched, but three? Wherefore not as well four or seven instead of a triad?

The daughters of the Thracian Cadmus and Harmonia, in the legend of Thebes, were four: all are illustrious in fabulous history.* On the other hand, the number of the Titanidæ, or god-like daughters of Cronos and Baaltis (Dione), in the famous Phœnician myth, in common with the equally celebrated Egyptian Kabiri—or the Powerful and Mighty, whose father was the creator of the world, the opener of the cosmic egg—was seven.† But both the Egyptian and Phœnician legends, which had a common origin in Phœnicia, were equally held as expressive of the seven fundamental powers of the visible creation: whereas, the Irish legend or tradition, which in character is rather historical than ideal, discovers few or none of the peculiar features distinctive of that particular species of fable denominated “divine.”

Independent, however, of the question as to its embodiment, as suggested, of a historical impression, however vague and indefinite, the story in tone and import partakes too clearly the character of the heroic to leave any room for doubt as to the class

there seems to be no reason why the Deluge should be extended beyond the occasion for it, which was the corruption of man, but, on the contrary, much reason against it; and that, on the other hand, a flood, restricted and partial, and yet sufficient to destroy the race in an early age, while still congregating in their original centre, cannot be regarded as by any means an incredible event. The incredibility lies in the mere human glosses and misinterpretations in which its history has been enveloped. Divested of these, and viewed in its connection with those wonderful traditions which still float all over the world regarding it, it forms not one of the stumblingblocks, but one of the evidences of our faith” (p. 350). The Egyptians, however, knew nothing about a flood in the Northern parts of Central Asia. But the Greeks, as well as the inhabitants of Asia Minor in Phrygia and Lycia, had such a tradition (*Bunsen*).

* *Grote, History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 353.

+ “The fact of the Kabiri according everything in obedience to the will of Taaut (Thoth), which he announced to Æseulapius (the eighth), tells us in the well-known form that these seven, or rather eight, were the oldest gods of the religion which was transplanted to Egypt. The myth is not unhistorical, since there is no doubt that country was colonised by the Kabiri, i.e., that the Phœnicians, in very early times, taking the Kabiri with them, as they did also at a much later period, landed near Mount Kasion.”—*Bunsen, loc. cit.*, vol. iv., p. 273. The seven primeval forces of the visible creation were identified afterwards, perhaps, with the seven (six?) Pleiades; but this does not appear to have been the point of the original myth.—See *Bunsen, ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 257.

See Bunsen
p

of tradition to which it naturally pertains. Dido, or Elissa, in the reign of Pygmalion King of Tyre, heads a select band of Tyrian emigrants to the remote and unknown wilds of Lybia; and the result is the foundation, under her auspicious guidance and counsel, of the city and dominion of Carthage, in the region of the Great Syrtis. The rise and growth of the vast Assyrian Empire, whose capital was Nineveh, and which of old stretched out its arms, either as protector or conqueror, over the whole of Western Asia, was due much less to the ability and valour of Ninus,* than to the consummate prowess and genius of Semiramus, the beautiful Philistine Maid of Ascalon,—such, at least, is the united testimony of both tradition and history. And why, too, in the spirit of an heroic age, and with genial and propitious breezes, should not old Ireland have been early planted by a band of venturous Amazonians, direct from primeval land and the clime of the sun?

But what of Seth, the hero of the tradition? According to Bunsen, Set or Seth, the father of Enoc, was not only the oldest of the mythological or divine types of Western Asia, but also the religious name under which Saturn was venerated as the especial god of the Phœnicians. Of the identity of this name with Sirius, or the dog-star, which was held sacred to Isis by the Egyptians, there would seem to be no doubt.†

Apart, then, from its fabulous chronology, may not this tradition in effect be thus read: Ireland was primitively settled by a

* 1,273 B.C., is the date of the first year of Ninus, as assigned by the Chevalier Bunsen. The race of Ninus, or the Derkatada, resided at Nineveh, the City of Ninus, on the Tigris, opposite Mosul.—*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iv., p. 435.

† As Osiris (sun-god) was venerated universally throughout Egypt from the remotest times, so his sister Isis (Queen of Heaven) was almost equally generally, though probably not quite so anciently, worshipped there, as the All-Mother, All-Goddess (*Bunsen, l. c.*, p. 429). Set, or Seth, is the oldest authentic name of the God Saturn; and, according to Colonel Sir H. Rawlinson, is found in the cuneiform inscriptions at Babylonia. The Chevalier Bunsen tells us that its meaning is clear from what is known of Set from other sources. That Set—Typhon in the Osiris circle, corresponds to Saturn, he considers as established. "Sothis, the star afterwards sacred to Isis, Sirius, or the dog-star, bears the same name. Then, this primitive name of God is indicated in the list of patriarchs, when Set is the father of Enoch, i.e., the Man (synonymous with Adam). Still the planetary system, old as it is, as developed at Babylon, has no point of contact with the religious views of the Phœnicians and other Semites, still less with those of the Egyptians. Set is common to all; but his supposed identity with Saturn is not so old as his identity with the Sun-God, as Sirius (Sothis), because the sun has the greatest power when in Sirius.—*L. c.*, vol. iv., b. pt. 3.

migratory or fugitive body of people of the Arian* race, and who practically either assented to the mythology of Western Asia, or were addicted to sun or star worship?

* Arians, the free, or the landowners. Arya in Indian means 'land. Originally its meaning was equivalent to "upper noble." The popular name Arja is derived from it, and signifies descended from a noble. Ari in Egyptian means "honourable;" but ari might mean to plough; for the Arians were originally and essentially an agricultural, and therefore a peasant race. Iran Proper was their original settlement.—*Bunsen*, *l. c.*, vol. iii., p. 466, note.

CHAPTER II.

THE PARTHOLANIAN SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND.

*pure
assum
ption* (For the space of 300 years after the Deluge, the Kingdom of Ireland lay wild and uninhabited, till Partholanus, son of Seara, son of Sru, son of Easru, son of Framant, son of Fathochda, son of Magog, son of Japheth, son of Noah, arrived there with his followers, or, in Bardic phraseology—

"The Western Isle three hundred years lay waste,
Since the wide waves the stubborn world defaced,
Till Partholanus landed."*

Keating is thus induced to believe that the settlement in question was effected about twenty-two years prior to the birth of Abraham† (A.M. 1978, B.C. 2026). Partholanus (Bartholomew), accord-

* The reason why Partholanus left his own country, and undertook this voyage was because he slew his father and mother in Greece, in order to obtain the crown, and hinder his elder brother of the rightful succession; but the vengeance of the gods overtook the inhuman parricide, and destroyed, some time after, 9,000 of the posterity of his colony by a pestilence: they were carried off within the space of a week at Binneadain, now called the Hill of Howth. —*Keating, History of Ireland*, p. 14.

(+ There can be no doubt that the great historical position and influence of Abraham, the Hebrew, belong to a much later age than that of Zoroaster. The date of his immigration from the Aramæic Province of Mesopotamia into Canaan is fixed by the researches of Bunsen at B.C. 2877, his age then being probably about fifty years. His subsequent appearance in the land and at the Court of the Pharaohs, which formed a memorable event in the history of the old Egyptian Empire, is considered by Bunsen as having occurred some time in the second half of the 29th century before our era. Already the Great Pyramid of Abousar (the second of Herodotus) was perhaps 500 years old; the Lesser Pyramids some of them nearer 1,000. From that period the development of writing, as an instrument of thought and intercommunication of ideas, might scarcely have dated back less than 600 years, not improbably 1,000; while the origin of a literature, at first vegetative, but then ripening into an early maturity, could only have been a little less antiquated. The institution of castes was a creation of the first dynasty of her kings; and the geographical division of the country into a certain number of Nomes was ancient perhaps as the foundation of the distinction of caste. For ages before the practice of building with hewn block was common; while, on the other hand, the art of working in pottery dated back to the most primeval times. Moreover, the cultivation of the sciences both of geometry and astronomy were already actively, if not successfully, prosecuted—though doubtless by the few; and, under the sacred auspices of its peculiar divinity, Esmun-Æsculapius—"the fairest of the gods, and the greatest of Sydyk's sons"—the practise of the healing art, the knowledge of which counts among the more beneficent of His gifts by the Creator to man, had been humanely, and probably not unsuccessfully, plied from the dawn of the national history.

No doubt, as the pure hearted and unpretending patriarch of new principles, and a new kingdom that was destined to involve the supremacy of the religion

ing to him, set out on his voyage from the country of Migdonia (Macedonia?), in the middle of Greece, and steering towards Sicily, leaving Spain on the right, he came into the Irish Sea, landing upon the 14th of May, at a place called Inbher Sceine (now Bantry Bay), in Munster, or, as told by the poet—

“The fourteenth day of May, the Greeks came o’er,
And anchors cast, and landed on the shore
Of Inbher Sceine.”

With respect to the preceding tradition, the Arian origin of the first of the successive settlements of legendary Ireland is, as I have just attempted briefly to point out, the probable significance and value of the fundamental idea which it apparently implies.

Characteristic of the present tradition as to the so-called Partholonian settlement of Ireland is the analogous feature, but much more distinctly and unequivocally outlined, which it prominently betrays. No doubt, the genealogical story of these people, or their hero-chieftains, is a sufficiently stunted and unedifying affair—a string of names without any relative details being all that is supplied to us; yet, in thus roughly tracing their descent through a long and unbroken line of succession from the patriarchal house of Japheth, we are evidently given to understand, in other terms, that traditionally they derivatively owned, in common with their predecessors in occupation of the island, an Indo-European or Arian origin.*

of conscience throughout the world, gazed upon the vast products of Egyptian art, their civilisation, and gorgeous monuments, he might not but appreciate and admire, but still not envy, them. But in the prevalent religious customs that blindly influenced, and which, both in idea and ceremony, were so antagonistic to his principles of belief and ritual of worship, the august Aramaic visitant could have discovered grounds for nought else than unmitigated contempt or abhorrence. Animal worship, which had been introduced early as the first dynasty under the old Empire, was then the State religion of Egypt—Apis being venerated at Memphis, Mnevis at Heliopolis, and the Mendesian Goat generally in both the Upper and Lower countries. Among the objects of this grovelling worship, in the words of Lord Macaulay, were cats and onions. Now, as there are no indications of the race of Abraham having been affected by the modifications produced in the old natural religion of Asia by means of Indo-Bactrian minstrels and founders of religious systems; so the gross religious ceremonies of which Abraham himself was the witness in Egypt, and which must have proved so abhorrent to his exalted nature, were calculated only the more strongly to confirm him in his own religious convictions.—See *Bunsen, Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iv., pp. 586-7; vol. iv., p. 589.

* “The first distinct appearance of the Indo-European race in Western Asia, as an important element in the population, is considerably subsequent to the rise of the Semites. At what exact time the Indo-European type of speech was originally developed, it is, indeed, impossible to determine; and no doubt we must assign a very early date to that primitive dispersion of the various sections of this family, and which may possibly have been anterior to the movements whereby the Semitic race was first brought into notice. But no important part

And here it is important to bear distinctly in mind that, in reference to topics such as these, the Irish chroniclers, whoever they really may have been, or whatever the age in which presumably they lived, are to be viewed merely as the transcribers of contemporary prevalent views or opinions, of the knowledge or accuracy of the subject matters of which personally they could have had no means, if so disposed, of verification, and whose sole authority in respect of them was traditionary story, itself the crystallised product of vague popular belief which was still more ancient. Whether or no the genealogical tree of which Partholanus (Bar h olomew) is a reputed scion may thus be considered as, in part at least, fabulous—some of its individual members so fantastically named being apparently unidentifiable—the main fact, nevertheless, remains of its root and stem being Japetic.

As already hinted, the original divisions of the race of man were grounded simply on distinctive habits of life. The nomade shepherd class, for instance, comprised anciently a large section of population, whose pastoral habits might not but be outwardly viewed as sufficiently characteristic. Of this class Abel was accounted historically as the great progenitor. A class of people only less numerical, perhaps, addressed themselves, from taste or necessity, more especially to agricultural pursuits, living largely in society, and having settled abodes. Of this great and important class Hiram and Cain were the recognised types. On the other hand, those who lived in tents were reputedly the descendants of Jabal. Jubal was the father of musicians, so accounted, and Tubal-Cain that of workers in copper. Moreover, in relation to the spiritual in the affairs of men, the divine Hanock was generally respected as the patriarchal head.

But a division of race or population thus externally or phenomenally grounded was much too indefinite and loose to be applicable to other than the most primeval times.

Opposite in essential feature was the noted division by which, in process of human development and more extended experience, the foregoing came to be virtually supplanted, or that in which the shades of complexion equally exclusively influenced as a basis of classification of peoples. Yet, for a similar reason, one of these original systems of division is scarcely less markedly

is played by the Indo-European nations in the history of Western Asia till the eighth or seventh century before our era, the preceding period being occupied by a long series of struggles between the Semites and Turanians. The Indo-Europeans thus occupy chronologically the third place in the ethnic history of this part of Asia."—*Rawlinson's Herod.*, b. i., essay xi., s. 9.

objectionable than the other; though, indeed, the latter has in its favour etymology as well as physiology, and still more, as stated by Bunsen, the Egyptian monuments.

Thus, according to this secondary system of classification,* or that in which certain physical characteristics are regarded, and most properly, as fundamental, Ham, from whom the inhabitants of Egypt and Africa are by some supposed to have been derived, is the dark, the black. Shem, the redoubted progenitor of the Israelitish race, is the red man, so styled. Of this great and illustrious stock, the Phœnicians were a branch. Japheth, again, is viewed as the bright, the fair. He is the white man of Northern Asia, the patriarch *Καὶ ἑξοχῆς* of the Irano-Arian, or, according to the more recent and scientific national groupings of Dr. Prichard, Indo-European nations.†

* See *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iv., p. 388.

† *Physical History of Mankind*.

The races of man have been divided by this distinguished ethnologist into three great groups or classes of nations. The nations of the Syro-Arabian race form the first of these classes; those of the Indo-European or Iranian stock constitute the second; while those of the third are made up of all those tribes who are aliens in stock and lineage to the Iranian family, and to whose collective designation the term "Allophylian" is applied.

Included in the Syro-Arabian family of nations are both the Semitic and the Hamitic elements, the limits of Syria and Arabia in their most extensive sense jointly comprising nearly all the countries inhabited by people who spoke the idiom peculiar to these mixed nations.

"To races who spoke kindred dialects of the Syro-Arabian language mankind in general are indebted, even more than to those nations who in later periods acquired and imparted a higher culture to the arts of life. While the adventurous spirit and inventive genius of one of these races (the Phœnician) explored all the coasts and havens of the ancient world, and first taught remote nations the use of letters and iron tools, to search their soil for metals, and to till it for the bearing of grain, other tribes cultivated the rich plains of Upper Asia, and reared the magnificent seats of the earliest monarchies—Nineveh and Babylon, where the pomp and luxury of the East were first displayed, and the Royal City of Solomon—the only seat of the pure worship of God—where a sublime literature was cultivated, superior in its simple majesty to the finest productions of the classical age, and preserving a portrait of the human mind in the infancy of our race.

"The Syro-Arabian tribes lost at an early period their ascendancy among the civilised nations of the world. Five centuries before the Christian era, the Japetic nations began to dwell in the tents of Shem; and from that time Medes and Persians, Greeks and Romans, and lastly Turks have successively dominated over the native inhabitants of Western Asia. The original tribes, cooped up within narrow limits or expelled, spread themselves in colonies through distant lands. North Africa, and Spain, and nearly all the islands of the Mediterranean received colonies from the Phœnician coast."

With respect to the nations of the Iranian, or Irano-Arian race, characterised as they were for their early intellectual endowments—particularly a higher culture of languages as an instrument of thought as well as of human intercourse—and which, as compared with the preceding class, were both much more numerous and far more generally diffused over the face of the Old World, they

Bactria,* not India, has been assigned as more probably the cradle of the Indo-European or Indo-Germanic race. At the period of its first emergence from an impenetrable obscurity into a sort of historical existence, it apparently already counted as a vast and formidable host. Impelled by what powerful motive influence we may not now divine, but issuing forth in countless numbers, as we have been told, from the country of the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, the most Eastern and most Northern point of Asia, a remarkable career of victory and conquest would seem at once to have been inaugurated in the attack and capture by the collective force of ancient Sogd (now Sogdiana).†

Of the two great waves into which at Sogdiana, its first general rendezvous, the vast and impetuous Arian host more probably divided itself, one flowed with resistless energy through the Bolan Pass towards the country of the Five Rivers (Punjaub), old barbaric tribes and institutions disappearing everywhere throughout its track, but to be replaced presently by new settlements

have been divided from affinities of languages into two principal groups—the Indian and Median, and the Southern and Northern stems. To the Median or Northern branch belong, more especially, all the Persian and German languages: to the Southern the Sanscrit and the classical languages of Greece and Italy. But it is here particularly noteworthy that, of the two great Celtic idioms, one—the Erse or Gaelic, namely—approaches in some respects to the Southern or classical department of this group of languages. “Each member of the Indo-European class of languages bears individually traits of particular affinity, or at least of peculiar resemblance to every other member. Thus, the Celtic and Greek have some words in common; so, also, of the Latin and Sanscrit.”

Of the so-styled Allophylian tribes in this classification—ethnically distinguished from the nations of the Iranian family, as satisfactorily proved from a consideration of many features in their character and history—the Scythians would seem to constitute a no inconsiderable section. “Spread over the remotest regions of the Old Continent, Northward, Eastward, and Westward of the Iranian nations—whom they seem everywhere to have preceded as the aboriginal inhabitants—the Allophylian races, inferior in mental endowments, were everywhere vanquished and dispossessed by more powerful invading tribes.”—Vol. iii., p. 5, *et sequel*.

* The Province of Bactria obtained its name from the City of Bactria (the modern Baelkh). The Zendavesta makes it the fourth settlement of the Arian race.—*Rawlinson's Herod. in Erato*, note, vol. iii., p. 418

+ “Sogdiana, Bactria, Aria (Herat), Hyrcania, Arachosia, Rhagiana, Media, Atropatene (Azerbeijan), were successively occupied by the Arian body, and they thus extended themselves in a continuous line from Afghanistan to beyond the Caspian. At this point there was, perhaps, a long pause in their advance, after which the emigration burst forth again with fresh strength, projecting a strong Indo-European element into Armenia, and at the same time turning Southward along the chain of Zagros, occupying Media Magna, and thence descending to the shores of the Persian Gulf, where Persia Proper and Carmania formed, perhaps, the limits of its progress. Everywhere through these countries the Tatar or Turanian races yielded readily to the invading flood, retiring into the desert or the mountain tops, or else submitting to become the dependents of the conquerors.”—*Rawlinson's Herod.*, vol. i., Ess. vi., p. 670.

fraught with the germs of civilisation and social progress, which the doctrines or teachings of Zoroaster, already widely as powerfully operative, were calculated vigorously to foster and develope.*

With respect to the other of these revolutionary waves of population which set in a South-Westerly direction, and to whose foundations some of them in Central and Western Asia the Irish origins would seem to have been directly related, it, at the same time, was irresistibly borne along in the direction of the shores of the Caspian,† the aboriginal Turanian or Scythic nations helplessly yielding in turn before the rude violence of the shock. Now, among other results in connection with this irruption into the region of the Caspian, the foundation of what afterwards eventuated in the Median Kingdom was laid, and through it of the Kingdom of Persia, which grew out of Media. Throughout the whole of Eastern Central Asia, the Arian settlements in no long time largely multiplied, no single fertile district of which our ancestors of the remote foretime—as we may venture to call them—did not eventually possess themselves, except Southern Media and Farsistan, or Persia ‡

Of this great formative and intellectual race, to which civilisation and the arts owe so much, both the Greeks, Germans, Slaves, and Italians, as well as the Celts, were collateral branches. The epochs of these respective separations from the parent stock we know not; but the fact of the Celt being by far the most ancient lop-off is on all hands admitted.§ Whether or not, intellectually and morally, the more dignified and worthy, he counts at all events as the senior member of the distinguished if not unequalled group, probably by many ages. His distinct separation and Westerly migration dates back not improbably to

* See Bunsen. "All this part of Asia became so thoroughly Arian by the expulsion or extermination of the aboriginal Turanian populations that it has remained so to this hour, the nucleus of it at least, as being the oldest inhabitants."—*Loc. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 597.

† See Bunsen, *l. c.*, vol. iv., p. 468.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 579.

§ Bunsen, who fixes the epochs of these respective separations at from 8,000 to 5,000 B.C., infers, from the evidence both of mythology and language, that the Celts were the first to separate from the parent stock, the similar separations of the Cymry and Slavonics being referable to a subsequent period. "For the Slavonics must have possessed what the Celts possessed, as well as the Germans, whose language proves that they must have separated at a much later period. They, the Greeks of the North, from their active intellectual turn of mind, evidently threw aside at a very early period the veils and fables, except such as had become fixed by religious ceremonies, because they appeared to them barbaric stuff."—See as above, vol. iii., p. 609; vol. iv., p. 466.

a period anterior, as well to the great Arian exodus from Bactria, as to the dawn of the arch religion-monger, Zoroaster or Zarathustra. Vainly may we presume to speculate as to the chronology of one or other of these events; but it may be roughly inferred, perhaps, that the period of few or none of them was much, if at all, posterior to the foundation by Nimrod of the great Turanian or Scythian Empire in Southern Babylonia,* and the development in the Semitic Kingdoms of an advanced civilisation, so many indications of which have in modern times been brought to light by the labours especially of Colonel Sir Henry Rawlinson.

On the supposition, then, of the reality of this settlement of Ireland—call it by what name we may—to which of the nations of this eminently improvable and civilising family may it be considered as bearing closest affinity in blood, or habits and manners?

As, however, the next in order of these earlier foundations of that Island—the Nemedian, namely—must be viewed as of similar or identical national and geographical origin with the present, and as the question now mooted equally suggests itself in relation to both alike, it will be more convenient to reserve such few facts and statements, in the way of a general reply, as I may find space to adduce till I come critically to deal with that traditionally concluding one of the series which are strictly Eastern.

Meantime, as for Keating's assumption that the Partholanian was a Greek colony, it must be regarded as quite gratuitous. It is true that about the middle of the eighth century before our era, the stream of Grecian colonisation to the Westward, authentically with names and dates, begins. At an earlier

* The region East of the Tigris, or Susiana, is considered by the Chevalier Bunsen as having originally been what is now known as Southern Babylonia, "the cradle of the Babylonian Empire." In the Abrahamitic times, the Kings of Shinar (Babylonia) were superior lords in Western Asia. In this "cradle of the sovereignty" are ruins of vast cities, to which Sir H. Rawlinson first called attention. The evidence in reference to the inscriptions there, which accords with the oldest sacred legend mentioned by Berosus, goes strongly to prove that "the first dawn of civilisation was in Southern Babylonia, and that the teachers of mankind came from the shores of the Persian Gulf."—*Loc. cit.*, vol. iii., pp. 352-3. And, remarks Mr. Grote, "the industry, agricultural as well as manufacturing, of the collective populations in that ancient land was not less persevering than productive. Their linen, cotton, and woollen fabrics, and their richly-ornamented carpets, were celebrated throughout the Eastern regions. Their cotton was brought in part from the islands of the Persian Gulf; while the flocks of sheep tended by Arabian nomads supplied them with wool finer even than that of Miletus or Tarentum."—*History of Greece*, vol. iii., c. 19.

period than that even there were doubtless detached bands of volunteer emigrants or marauders, who, fixing themselves in situations about the shores of the Mediterranean favourable to commerce or piracy, either became mingled with native tribes, or grew up by successive reinforcements into an acknowledged town; and of the fact of the foundation of a considerable number of such settlements by Grecian or Trogan heroes, so-alleged, there can be no doubt.*

But the reasonable supposition is, that Ireland was already definitely settled long before a single Greek penteconter or trireme had attempted the passage of the Pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar). When, early in the seventh century before the time of Christianity, Anaximander was first enabled to delineate on a map the Euxine, Palus Mæotis (Sea of Azof), Adriatic, Western Mediterranean, and the Lybian Syrtes, of the ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules men, meantime, were content to remain ignorant.† It was not, as we equally learn, till much about the same time that the Phœnicians, by direction of the Egyptian King, Necos, son of Psammetichus, originally circumnavigated Africa, starting from the Red Sea, and returning to the Nile, after having gone round by the Cape of Good Hope to Gades (Cadiz).‡

As seafarers, the Phœceans, of Ionia, were of all the Grecian communities at first the most adventurous. Pushing their exploring voyages along the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coast, they reached Tartessus sometime about B.C. 570-560, founding Masselia (Marseilles), as well as one or two other settlements between the Pyrenees and the Ebro. As filiations from the Prytaneum of a known city in Hellas, these count among the earlier Grecian foundations.§

Yet in their colonial establishments the Phœnicians were already far in advance of the Greeks. Among the more ancient of these was Gades, or Gadena, on the South-Western coast of Spain, which was founded near 1,000 years probably before the Christian era. There is no town in Europe, as Mr. Grote has observed, whose name (Cadiz) subsequently unaltered is of such long

* See Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii., c. 22.

† Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii., c. 18.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ "The Phœceans were the first Greeks who performed long voyages, and it was they who made the Greeks acquainted with the Adriatic, and with Tyrrhenia, with Iberia, and the City of Tartessus. The vessel which they used in their voyages was not the round-built merchant ship, but the long penteconter." — *Rawlinson's Herod.*, b. i., c. 163.) Tarsus, Tartessus, Tarahish are variants of the same word. — *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 298, note.

standing, and but few whose prosperity has been equally continuous.* In connection with the Phœnician settlements, we have been informed of nothing but peace and commerce; and Gades, founded under the guidance and protection of the national God Melkarth,† whom the Greeks called Hercules, was apparently already a flourishing emporium of trade and commercial activity in the time of Jehu. There might be met with the finest and brightest products of the Tyrian loom, together with gold, silver, electrum, ivory, and various ornaments and decorations of curious device and finished workmanship; articles that were turned to profitable account by the Phœnician traders‡ in exchange for the tin and other mineral treasures of Cornwall and Ireland—regions which, among others in Western Europe, attracted from a very early period habitual resort in way of trade. Thus, the idea of the Hellenic origin at least of the Partholanian colony is wholly inadmissible.

* *L. c.*, vol. iii., p. 18. *Vide* ch. 22.

† Melikarthos, "Melikarth," i.e., Me Lek Qart, King of the City, was of the race of Uranus.—*Bunsen, l. c.*, vol. iv., p. 249.

‡ *Vide Grote, l. c.*, ch. 18.

CHAPTER III.

THE NEMEDIAN SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND.

The next of the primitive colonies by which Ireland is supposed to have been planted, is that which is known as the so-called Nemedian.

The Clanna Neimhidh, or followers of Neimhidh (Poëtry), son of Achnamham (Song), allegorical personages, but descended, equally as their predecessors in occupation the Partholarians, from Magog and Japheth, are traditionally counted as an Eastern people. They are, by excellence, the Scythians of the Irish bards and chroniclers.*

Embarking on the waters of the Euxine in the time of Jacob, it is said, the Nemedians in due course made the Irish coast in the vicinity of the ancient Dalraida, where they landed, and amid the interminable wilds of as yet unredeemed nature, whose solemn stillness might now and then have been broken in upon alone by the echoes of the distant sea, or the varied and gleeful carolling of the different birds in wood and glade, the roarings of wild animals, or howlings of beasts of prey, smitten with hunger or rage, or the music of the wild winds as they fitfully resounded through the picturesquely decked woods, or playfully murmured in tangled thicket or by rippling brook, fearfully but probably not unhopefully laid, Remus-and-Romulus-like, the foundation of a new settlement. The fleet consisted, as we are equally told, of thirty-four transports, each boat being manned by thirty persons.

At the date of this immigration, Ireland is represented as destitute of inhabitants, the Partholarians thirty years before having been entirely cut off at the Hill of Howth by a plague.†

* "A large number of the best scholars of Germany, among them the great historian, Niebuhr, have maintained that the Scythians of Herodotus were a Tatar or Mongolic race—the earliest specimens known to us of that powerful people, which, under the name of Huns, Bulgarians, Magyars, and Turks, has so often carried desolation over Europe, and which in Asia, as Mongols, Calmucks, Elenths, Khirgis, Nogais, Turcomen, Thibetians, and (perhaps) Chinese, extends from the Steppes of the Don to the coasts of the Yellow Sea. This opinion has also been adopted by the most eminent of our own historians—(Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. vii., chap. xiv.; Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii., p. 322)—who regard it as certain, or at least as most highly probable that the Scythians were a Mongol nation."—*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, Appendix to Book IV., Ess. ii., vol. iii., p. 192.

† Keating, *History of Ireland—Nemedian Colony*.

Now, the distinct reiteration in this tradition of the historical feature no less distinctly indicated in that to which we have just been referring, is a noteworthy point in relation to the question of the Irish beginnings, some of them national and geographical. Nor, it may be remarked, do we perceive, in regard to the import of the historical impression apparently implied in the most primitive of all these traditions, a signification at variance with that of which the two latter are equally decisively expressive. The inference, therefore, which unavoidably presses, is, that, traditionally, the successive immigrations by which Ireland was originally planted, were derivatively of the Japhetic stock, in the sense of Japheth being its acknowledged patriarch: in other words, that mainly they radically affiliated to some particular sub-division of the vast and important group of nations variously called Indo-Germanic, Indo-European, and Caucasian:* I say *traditionally* purposely, for, as we shall immediately find, Ireland was undoubtedly inhabited† before the dawn even of tradition; the era of the Lake-Dwellers in that country being probably coincident with the stone or bronze period.

* The Nemedian Colony, of course, is an exception to this general inference, on the supposition that it was of Scythian origin. For, as Mr. Rawlinson correctly observes, "if we attempt to inquire to which of the great divisions of the Indo-European race the Scyths belonged, we find ourselves at a loss to determine in favour of one branch more than another. . . . The Scyths, as their language exhibits them, were neither Medes, nor Slaves, nor Goths, nor Celts, nor Pelasgians; but their tongue possessed affinities to the speech of all these nations. We must not, therefore, be led away by doubtful etymologies to identify the Scythians with any special Indo-European race."—*Translation of Herodotus*, vol. iii., p. 204.

+ The analogy of the Pæonians, who lived on Lake Prasias, to the Swiss and other lake-dwellers, is now pretty generally admitted. The account, therefore, which has been given of them by Herodotus is very generally applicable, largely at least. Their manner of living, he says, is the following:—Platforms, supported upon tall piles, stand in the centre of the lake, which are approached from the land by a single narrow bridge. At the first, piles which bear up the platform were fixed in their places by the whole body of the citizens, but afterwards the custom which has prevailed about fixing them is this:—They are brought from a hill called Obélus, and every man drives in three for each wife that he marries. Now the men have all many wives a-piece, and this is the way in which they live: each has his own hut wherein he dwells upon one of the platforms, and each has also a trap-door, giving access to the lake beneath; and their wont is to tie their baby children by the feet with a string, to save them from rolling into the water. They feed their horses and other beasts upon fish, which abound in the lake to such a degree that a man has only to open his trap-door, and to let down a basket by a rope into the water, and then to wait a very short time, when up he draws it quite full of them.—*Book entitled Terpsichore, Rawlinson's Translation*, vol. iii., p. 226.

"Recent discoveries in the lakes of Central Europe, particularly those of Switzerland," says Mr. Rawlinson in a note, "have confirmed in a most remarkable way the whole description of Herodotus. It appears that at an ancient

Meanwhile, before concluding such brief account of the primeval colonies of Ireland, impliedly of Eastern derivation, as space will permit, I now proceed to an equally hurried, and it may be a very imperfect, consideration of the question, already adverted to as to the particular race or races to which, in habits and manners at least, these colonists apparently bore closest affinity.

Other arguments, especially that which is grounded on mythology, might be similarly advanced with equal if not yet greater force even; but these cannot now be attempted.

To the tribes dispersed over the Asiatic continent at the end of the Trojan War both the Celtic and Teutonic nations were equally proud to trace back their origin. The great legislator of the Scandinavians, Odin,* together with his followers, boasted a common ancestry with the Hunters and Shepherds that wildly roamed the boundless plains of ancient Scythia: according to the

date, probably anterior to the immigration of the Celts, there lived on most of these lakes a race, or races, who formed for themselves habitations almost exactly like those which Herodotus here describes. At a short distance from the shore, rows of wooden piles were driven into the muddy bottom, generally disposed in lines parallel to the bank, but not at regular intervals, upon which there can be no doubt that platforms were placed, and habitations raised. Within the area occupied by the piles, and over the space immediately adjoining, are found at the bottom, often occupying a depth of several feet, objects of human industry, consisting of rude pottery, and various, implements in stone, bone, and bronze. Everything marks the high antiquity of these remains. The pottery is coarse in character, and shaped by the hand; it has scarcely a trace of ornament. The implements in stone and bronze indicate a nation in the most primitive condition. The complete, or almost complete, absence of iron is most significant. Also, it must be observed, that there is in most places a deposit of mud, the growth of centuries, covering the remains, in the whole of which there are no implements. Bones of animals, which had apparently been killed for food, appear throughout the whole stratum of mud in which the implements are found. In one case, at least, a remnant of a bridge was discovered, by which the inhabitants communicated with the land.

"Antiquarians seem fully agreed that these are among the most primitive remains in Europe, belonging either to the early Celtic, or perhaps more probably to a pre-Celtic period. It is a reasonable conjecture that they come down to us from that Finnish (Turanian) race which (see *loc. cit.*, vol. i., p. 645, note) seems to have peopled the whole of Europe in primeval times. We may suspect that these people occupied the lakes for centuries at the time when the Celts began to press upon them, but that they failed to maintain themselves, and gradually yielded, and were absorbed in the immigrants. In some places it is evident from the deposits that the platforms were finally destroyed by fire (*Letter of M. Troyon to M. Pictet, in Bibliothèque Univers., de Genève, May, 1857*)."—*Herodotus*, vol. iii., p. 226.

The Papous of New Guinea, it is stated by Dumont d'Urville (*Histoire*, tom iv., p. 607), practise a similar mode of life. On the other side of Torres Straits observes Professor Huxley, a race akin to the Australasians are among the few people who now build their houses on pile-works like those of the ancient Swiss lakes.—*Lyell, Antiquity of Man*, note, p. 89.

* See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. i., p. 290.

Saxon Chronicle, the people by whom England was originally settled were from Armenia; and the Psalter of Cashel, as already seen, assigns the native region of the earlier settlers of Ireland as having bordered on the Euxine (Black) Sea. With respect, however, to the specific elements, or process of combination, out of or by which the Irish family was first formed, we are possessed at most, it must be owned, with the materials for historical conjecture rather than anything that might be interpreted as proper history.

The earliest history of every nation is, within certain limits, the history in continuity, in so far as it goes, of the parent community, whose modes of life, social usages, and traditional customs, as well as religious creed and ritual of worship, are carried along with them by the colonists from the old country to the new, where in effect they are destined to become equally surely rooted through the influence and sanction of native prejudice and habit: the newly-formed society being, in assential features, the counterpart in miniature of the old. At Carthage, Gades, and Thasos, there existed not only similar social and civil activities, and commercial and industrial energy, as those for which Tyre and Sidon before the period of their decline were so pre-eminently distinguished, but the great Phœnician God Melkarth, whom the Tyrians regarded as the companion and protector of their different colonial foundations wherever situate. The same remark equally forcibly applies to most if not all similar establishments, whether Grecian or Roman; the different filiations in either case corresponding, in general feature and complexion, more or less closely to their respective mother cities. And what is thus true of regular civilised and civilising settlements such as these of old, equally holds good—so at least it may reasonably be inferred—in respect of the yet rude and uncivilised elements out of which national beginnings in the dark and unknown foretime such as that of Ireland have been enigmatically compounded. So rigidly tenacious indeed is the popular mind in every stage of society and every age of long established habits and duties, secular and religious, that time only and altered circumstances, and increased knowledge derived from a wider field of human experience and intercourse, can effectually shake their paramount influence and dominion over it; and if, in the case of Ireland, those habitual usages and duties might be clearly outlined, an important ground of inference, by comparison or contrast, would thus lie as to the particular race or nation to which its earlier inhabitants more closely affiliated. Moreover, if it could be ascertained at what precise period the Irish histories cease to be applicable to Persia or Spain and become appropriate

only to Ireland, the approximate determination of the chronology of both the Eastern and Spanish immigrations into that island would then only be seriously affected by the length of time which might be deemed requisite for effecting so great and important a transformation.*

Of the different hypotheses which have been broached in explanation of the primeval colonisation of Ireland from the traditional point of view, that which assigns for it a Spanish origin, though perhaps the oldest, if not most popular of all, is certainly the most lame and indefensible.† Most decidedly, and apparently fatally, militating against its reception is the negative evidence of the Irish bards and chroniclers themselves. On the other hand, the positive testimony of all traditionary statement in reference to the point goes very unequivocally to indicate, not alone that the so-called Milesian element was not a fundamental element of primeval Irish life, but that the elementary constituents, heterogeneous as they not improbably were, of which the national life was originally compounded, were in reality of Eastern extraction—European Greece forming apparently the great and important avenue through which thus remotely poured, at different times, various Eastern migrations, eventually destined to become the founders or regenerators of many diverse nationalities, as well as that of Ireland, in Western Europe.

Admitting the civilising influences not unreasonably ascribable to the Milesian or Turdetanian foundation, we should, indeed, be better prepared than we are to estimate their practical value and results were it within possibility to outline a picture reflective of the condition and character, social, civil, and religious, distinctive in some sort of the primeval Irish settlements and general population, both previously to and following on the period of this great and important popular irruption. But materials for limning, however indistinctly, either that picture or this there are none. Still, in the absence of any reliable grounds for comparison or contrast, it is impossible to imagine that the accruing change, whatever may have been its nature or extent, was in reality a change from a state of barbarism to a state of civilisation. Pre-historic Ireland, it may indeed be safely assumed, owned unacquaintance in any era equally with one and the other of these conditions, save alone in their less distinctly characterised types.

* See *State of Architecture and Antiquities Previous to the Landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland*. By L. C. Beaufort, 1827. Tr., R.I.A., vol. xvi.

† See *Spencer, View of the State of Ireland*, p. 61.

No doubt, as ably argued by Miss Beaufort,* the probability, amounting almost to a certainty, is that, whatever may have been its elementary constitution or shades of complexion, the already existing island population owed, as a population, no slight and transient indebtedness to the eventful circumstance which issued in its contact with the Turdetanian foundation, or the progressive influences and tendencies that admittedly attached. Through this particular channel a knowledge of the use of letters came most probably to be acquired, as well as that of public records and public care of them.† Then the native arts of life, rude and primitive as these may well be supposed to have been, were doubtless not unaffected by the results of adaptive resource, as in some sort evinced, it may be inferred, by the ancestors of the Milesian clan—results a practical knowledge of which might not but be imported along with them. Moreover, in effect of traditional experience derived from long-established commercial relations, as well with the traders of Rome as those of Carthage and Tyre, ideas of international commerce and trade in exchange, and the manifold advantages, national and individual, that attend, would thus inevitably be excited and fostered by those more advanced colonists in the country of their adoption.

But, as tallying much more satisfactorily with the facts of the case—in so far as these can be made out—one, or indeed both, of two later views which have respectively been advanced by Miss Beaufort‡ and Dr. Prichard§ especially commend themselves for adoption. According to one of these views, the aboriginal settlers of Ireland were of Persian or Median descent; while in terms of the other they are accounted as an offset of a peculiar tribe, distinguished from the British and Gaulish Celts before they left the East, and which inhabited the region about the river Halys, in lesser Asia. Of these two propositions, the weight of evidence would seem, on the whole, to incline in favour of the former.

If it be admitted that the Celts and Persians were originally the same people, the features of affinity so strongly observable between the Pagan Irish and the Persians will be accounted for without difficulty. But bearing in mind that, prior to the establishment of the Persian power, most of the nations of Asia Minor would appear to have been connected by many traits of

* *Loc. cit.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Vide Transactions, Royal Irish Academy, vol. xvi.*

§ *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, vol. iii., pp. 151-2.*

affinity, at least in their history, not only with the germs of that great Empire, but with the Iranian and Eastern races, it is unreasonable to suppose that either of the successive migrations—whatever their real number, whether two, three, or more—which, sweeping round by the South of Europe, made their way into Ireland by Spain and the Bay of Biscay, or by France and England, consisted simply and exclusively of the Median element. The probability, on the contrary, is that waves of population such as here contemplated were in few or no cases homogeneous in character. If so, and irrespective of the Scythic element, which was foreign and accidental, the aborigines of Ireland must in reality be viewed as having derived from different yet kindred nations of the Celtic sub-kingdom in Asia, and not exclusively from any one in particular.

In proof of the oriental origin of the primitive settlements of Ireland as a general proposition, a variety of corroborative facts and considerations might readily be adduced, but one or two in relation to the arts and habits of life is all for which I can now find space.

With respect to the arts, as the ample robe and Eastern turban, which formed the principal articles of dress of the earlier Irish, consisted largely of linen,* so consumption in reference to this fabric, which must thus have been considerable, implies contemporary production on a corresponding scale by Irish hands. The results of inquiry, indeed, tend satisfactorily to establish that at a very early period—though how early we do not know—the art of weaving was practised from one end of Ireland to the other.† But such primeval manufacture of this particular textile implies, moreover, cultivation of the flax plant at the same time, as well as a correct apprehension of the different processes to which the raw fibre must necessarily be first subjected before it is fitted for the operations of the loom.‡ Whence, then,

* See *Miss Beaufort, l. c.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ The women of Pæonia, in Thrace, span flax in the time of Darius. There is a story told by Herodotus of the beautiful sister of Pigres and Mantyes, two Pæonians, whose ambition led them to aspire to the sovereignty over their countrymen. Now, in furtherance of their meditated object, the interposition of Darius, if attainable, was felt to be all-important; and as, in prosecution of his conquests in Asia Minor, that monarch lay at the time encamped in the neighbourhood of Sardis, they naively bethought themselves, as a not unlikely means of enlisting in their interest his active sympathy or co-operation, of parading before him, at a fitting time and place, the graceful Pæonian maiden, actively and dexterously plying, as would seem to have been her daily wont, the laborious and complicated industrial employment to which, in common with

it may be asked, was a practical knowledge of this branch of skilled industry in its different departments thus acquired? Most probably from the Colchian Scythians,* the reputed ancestors of the Nemedians. In every country, it is related, where, in course of their wanderings and conquests, the warlike tribes of this nation obtained a footing, there they introduced the culture of flax and the weaving of linen. Such, indeed, was their proficiency in this industrial art, that it came to be regarded as quite a national characteristic, and one by which, it was believed, their kindred nations might be traced.

In his view of Ireland, Spencer,† as is known, has adduced a variety of analogical features corroborative of the apparent ethnical affinity between a section at least of the earlier Irish and the Turanian or Scythian nations.‡

Not less diversified or striking are the points of similarity or identity between probably a yet larger moiety of this people and the Medes previously to the assertion of their independence, and while yet the subjects of the great Assyrian empire, of which Nineveh was the chief city, and Babylon one of the principal por-

her countrywomen, she had been inured from early youth—an artful exhibition, which might not but prove all the more impressive by reason of its uniqueness and unexpectedness. Apart altogether from the effect of the representation on the illustrious representative of the hero-house of Cyrus, and in reference to itself as an element of civilisation and social progress, it is not without its value, as importing that social activity, comprising a knowledge of the arts of life, no longer limited to Babylonia, Egypt, or Greece, were already being diffused among the nations of the Old World. But, dressed in the richest gear they could procure, the Pæonians sent their sister at a time when she might surely be seen by the great king himself to draw water for them. She bore a pitcher upon her head, and with one arm led a horse, while all the way as she went she spun flax. Darius, on interrogating the woman, with her brothers, who by his direction had been brought before him, was given to understand that all the women of their country did similarly.—See *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, vol. iii., pp. 224-5.

* The Colchian Scythians were an Egyptian race (*Herodotus*, book ii., c. 104; *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, vol. ii., p. 170). According to Agathias, the Lazis of the country about Trebizond are the legitimate descendants of the ancient Colchians. The language of this race is Turanian, and bears no resemblance to that of ancient Egypt (*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, vol. ii., p. 160, note). However, in proof of the identity of the Egyptians and the Colchians, Herodotus mentions that the two nations weave their linen in exactly the same way, and which is entirely unknown to the rest of the world. Colchis was famous for its linen. It was taken to Sardinia, and, being thence imported, received the name of Sardinian.—*Ibid*, note, p. 172.

† See especially pp. 97-99.

‡ The Scythians, according to Edmund Spencer, settled first in Ulster, thence gradually spreading all over the country. The settlement is conjectured by Spencer to have been effected about the time when the Northern nations overran Christendom.

tions.* Let me adduce in illustration the single case of dwelling houses, of which, whether in the materials employed, mode of construction, or species of enclosure for purposes of individual safety or defence, the Irish are admittedly the close analogue of those of the Zoroastrian Medes or Medo-Persians, in common with some other allied Eastern nations. In ancient Ireland equally as in Eastern lands, these rude and primitive tenements were constructed, according to Ware, of rods or wattles plastered over with loam or clay, covered in with straw or sedge, and rarely if ever made with solid timber. They were usually large or small, according to the dignity or quality of the inhabitant, and for the most part erected in woods or by the banks of rivers. But, in Spencer's time, houses of all sorts and sizes, as well as strongholds in forests, were encircled about with wattle fences, designed as a fortification against sudden surprise or danger from aggression.†

* The addition to the use of the turban as a head-dress among the earlier Irish owned most probably a Persian origin, since this description of head-gear was habitually worn by the Persians from birth. The extreme thinness and fragility anciently distinctive apparently of the Persian skulls were ascribed by Herodotus to this practice as the cause. In these respects the Egyptian skull contrasted, as we are told, remarkably, being so strong as scarcely to be broken by the stroke of a stone. The great strength and resistance to external injury characteristic of the skulls of the Egyptian race is viewed by Herodotus as causatively related to the habit common to all Egyptians of going bareheaded, as well as shaving the head, and which, in addition, exempted from baldness. It is related that, after the battle of Pelusium, consequent on the invasion of Egypt by Cambyzes, in the reign of Psammeticus, the difference in strength and solidity between the skulls of the Persian and Egyptian slain contrasted most remarkably.—*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, book iii., c. xii., vol. ii., p. 405.

+ *Antiquities of Ireland* (Walter Harris's Translation). The dwellings of the wandering tribes in ancient Libya were made of the stems of the asphodel and of rushes wattled together. They could be carried from place to place (*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, vol. iii., p. 169). Houses built of tempered mud are common in several parts of India and Cabul. The dwellings of the poorer classes throughout Persia, which, as remarked by modern travellers, bear an exact resemblance to those of the humbler Irish, are constructed of mud. In Western India, in Persia, and the Caucasus, the walls of two-storied palaces, of fortresses even, are formed not of stone, brick, or timber, but of wrought mud alone. In the Mysore, such is the perfection of making mud walls, that many of the mud-wall houses are flat-roofed and terraced (*Buchanan's Journey*, vol. i., p. 33). As in the case of England at that time, some of the habitations may have been composed of wood; the barons and chieftains only having stone-built mansions. Possibly some of the Celtic race may have lived under spreading forest trees, as described by Spencer to have been practised in later times, in a similar manner to an African tribe mentioned by Bruce (*Travels*, book iv., p. 29), who pass the dry season in the surrounding forests, each family choosing a spreading tree, of which they plash together the outer bending branches, pinning the terminal ends to the ground, and throwing a covering of beasts' skins over all.—See *Miss Beaufort*, Transactions, Royal Irish Academy, vol. xvi.; *Petrie, Round Towers: their Origin and Uses*, Transactions, Royal Irish Academy, vol. xx., p. 40.

As to the different kinds of rath,* which comprised a greater or less number of dwellings, and some of which tradition points out as having been royal, while others served as the residences of chiefs of clans or septs, it is noteworthy that, in respect both of elevation of site and the somewhat imposing and laboured character of the artificial works by which they were protected, most if not all very closely resembled the hill fortresses of India of a corresponding age.

With respect to agricultural affairs, a knowledge of which doubtless was imported by the first incomers, these clearly were not neglected in Ireland even in times the most remote, for traces of the plough have been discovered underneath bogs whose deposit were of a subsequent date. Moreover, at a period probably equally early, working in iron, as well as operations in mining, formed there distinct and widely practised branches of skilled or economic labour: whence then but from Eastern sources were practical acquirements, of which pursuits such as these imply the possession, thus originally obtained? The great discoverers in metallurgy at least are known to have been Phrygian.

But before leaving the subject of these primeval colonial foundations in Ireland whose oriental origin and subsequent oriental connection must in the circumstances be considered as incontestable, it remains that I should briefly advert to the important topic mooted above, relative to the existence in this island of a pre-traditional race of people, the contemporaries not improbably of the pilers up of the "Refuse Mounds" in Denmark, or of the fabricators of the flint and bronze implements of the diluvian or drift period, whether denizens of the basin of the Somme in Picardy or of the Valley of the Thames or of the Ouse in England. The results of antiquarian discovery in proof of this position, important from its direct bearing on the question of the antiquity of man, may be thus summarised:—

1. In reference to the Irish lake-dwellings, or so-called Crannoges. Of these, or more correctly the artificial islands on which they were erected, and the immediate object of which there can be no doubt was greater personal immunity from external aggression or

* The raths were cone-shaped. They differed in dimensions and height, according to the character of the person for whom they were raised, as also in component materials, some being made of earth heaped together, and others of small round paving stones, with sand or earth, and piled up in a high conical form, coated over with green rods. The largest were seated on rising grounds near some public road, or at the head of ports or havens. The rath near Downpatrick is cited by Ware as affording a good idea of most raths.—See *Harris's Ware's Antiquities*.

danger on the part of the people by whom they were designed, the vestiges of forty-six in all have already been discovered in different lakes of Ireland. In the analagous structures in Swiss waters, and the remains of so many of which have now been discovered,* the platform on which the dwellings were erected was supported above water-level by perpendicular stakes driven right down into the mud. In the Crannoge system, on the contrary, the plan usually practised was as follows:—Into horizontal oak beams, which rested on the lake bottom, upright oak posts from six to eight feet high were mortised, and held together by cross beams, a circular enclosure being thus obtained. Some of these stockaded islands, again, were made by placing a layer or layers of stones on logs of timber, the central part, which was oval, being surrounded by stone walls raised on oak piles. In Ardekillin Lake (County Roscommon), the remains of one of this class has been met with.†

The antiquities discovered in some of these Crannoge islets, particularly in that at Lagore, are referable, according to Lord Talbot de Malahide and Mr. Wylie, to the stone, bronze, and iron periods.‡

* The number of Swiss lake-dwellings discovered amount to 70, some of the settlements having been found to contain as many as 300 wooden huts, capable of accommodating, according to calculation, 1,000 inhabitants.—See *Lyell, Antiquity of Man*, p. 369.

† See *Lyell, loc. cit.*, pp. 29, 30, 31, 32.

‡ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii., 1859, quoted by Lyell, as above, p. 30. The period of the bronze has been traced back to times anterior to the Roman occupation of Helvetic Gaul, and other countries North of the Alps. (*Lyell*.) But the bronze, which was succeeded by the iron age, was preceded by that of the stone. Of these three successive and pre-traditional ages, each has been considered as having been concurrent with a character of vegetation in Northern Europe, whose peculiarity consisted in the almost exclusive prevalence in either of the three co-relative phases of its history, as traceable in the nature and order of super-position of the vegetable remains, of a particular species of flora, or forest tree. Thus, in Denmark at least, of exogenous vegetable forms, the pine, or Scotch fir, as has been abundantly proved from discoveries in the peat deposits, first assumed apparently undisputed natural ascendancy. Then the fir, in lapse of centuries, was succeeded by the oak, in both its sessile and pedunculated varieties, which, after flourishing, together with the alder, birch, and hazel for yet other untold ages, yielded in turn to the beech, which, under altered physical and climatic conditions, took sole possession of the field. Now, the periods when these three genera of forest tree prevailed in succession, tally pretty nearly—such now is the established opinion—with the ages of stone, bronze, and iron in Denmark.

The characteristics of these three successive ages may be thus summarised:—

1. Implements and arms of stone, bone, wood, &c.: little or no use of metals. Clothing derived from skins of animals. Oysters the principal if not sole food of man. Pine, or Scotch fir, the chief or sole tree of contemporary forests. Climate much more severe, especially in winter, than at present, though far less cold than in the glacial period which immediately preceded.

2. In relation to the log cabin of Drunkellin Bog, in Donegal. This hut was discovered in 1833 by Captain Mudge, amid bog or peat in which it was imbedded. In dimensions, it was found to be twelve feet square and nine feet high, and formed two stories, each four feet in height. The planking was of oak split with wedges of stone, one of which was found in the building. The cabin had a flat roof, and there existed a staked enclosure. A stone "celt" (polished stone), found in the interior, and a piece of leathern sandal, also an arrow-head of flint, and in the bog close by a wooden sword, afford proof of the remote antiquity of this building, which, according to Sir Charles Lyell, may be taken as a type of the early dwellings on the Crannoge islands.

The wood of the mortises, it may be mentioned, was found by Mudge to be more bruised than cut, as if by a blunt stone chisel. Such a chisel lay on the floor, as well as a slab of freestone, in the centre of which a small circular cavity three-fourths of an inch deep had evidently been chiselled out. As some hazel nuts were discovered lying about, it is conjectured that the cavity in this stone had been formed for the purpose of cracking them.

Now, as the implements of antique type which have been discovered at Biddenham, near Bedford, and at Hoxne, in Suffolk, together with a general view of the section of the Norfolk cliffs, furnish the earliest signs hitherto detected of the appearance of man in England; so, too, the different classes of antiquities mentioned above form the primitive memorials as yet found of his presence in Ireland. Both kinds of evidence are post-Glacial, that is, posterior to the grand submergence of Ireland, in common with Central England, in the waters of the Glacial sea.*

Moreover, if in post-Pliocene times, or subsequently to the

2. Implements and arms made of bronze, of copper and gold, or rather bronze and gold: little or no silver or iron in use. Belonging to this age, articles of gold and electrum have been discovered, but none of silver, or (perhaps) of iron, nor any evidence of writing. Polished hatchets, called "celts," which were in general use in Europe before tools were invented, and which are characteristic of the monuments of the stone period, have now all but disappeared, the upper layers of Danish peat containing a greater variety of the forms of art, most of them more highly finished and tastefully designed, than the lower layers. From Danish peat and shell mounds, and from older Swiss lake-settlements, we learn that the people of this primeval period were hunters, living at first mostly on game. The monarch of the forest during this age was the oak.

3. During the time of the beech, the arms, tools, and utensils made largely of iron, some articles, however consisting of silver. In this age Runic inscriptions have been first met with.—*Lyell, Antiquity of Man*, pp. 369, 370, 372; *Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen*, 1837, quoted by Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. ii., p. 141, note; *Westminster Review*, no. xlv., April, 1863.

* See *Lyell, loc. cit.*, p. 239.

period of general, sustained, and intense refrigeration throughout Europe, known as the glacial, there must, in order to account for the emigration to these countries of the Germanic fauna and flora, have been free communication by land between the Continent and the British islands, and between the several islands themselves;* so similarly we are thus led more readily to understand how the people whose rude memorials lie buried in the diluvium of the basins of the Somme and the Seine, should have migrated to other and distant points of the area, inscribing at their new seats of settlement, equally in drift or gravel beds, and in similar characters, indefeasible traces of their existence, or of the rude activities that influenced. For the tool-bearing strata of the valley of the Thames and of the Ouse, which count among the recent formations, and which are of the same geological age as those of the North-West of France, are characterised, not only by similar classes of human relics, but by similar organic remains. In Ireland, it is true, analogous strata are believed to be wanting, which is due to the fact of her remaining much longer than England in the state of an archipelago.† The antiquities that have been discovered in her lakes, or imbedded in peat-moss, declare not less forcibly the presence there, at an era only less remote, of a barbarous and probably kindred race which has disappeared before historical or traditional times, together with the animals of the ancient world‡—the races whose organisation is improved having, in some quarters at least, continued the genus.§

* *Lyell, Antiquity of Man*, p. 134. Fossil bones of the gigantic Irish deer (*Megaceros Hibernicus*) have been found at Aurignac, near the foot of the Pyrenees. *Ibid* p. 181.

† "The wide extent of drift (gravel, clay, and sand) spread over large areas in Ireland, shows that the whole island was in some part of the glacial period an archipelago."—*Lyell, loc cit.*, p. 271.

‡ "It is already clear that man was contemporary in Europe with two species of elephant (*E. Primigenius* and *E. Antiquus*), two also of rhinoceros (*R. Tichorhinus* and *R. Hemiteus*), at least one species of hippopotamus, the cave bear, cave lion, and cave hyæna, various bovine, equine, and cervine animals now extinct, and many small carnivora, rodentia, and insectivora. While these were slowly passing away, the musk buffalo, reindeer, and other arctic species which have survived to our times, were retreating Northwards from the valleys of the Thames and Seine to their present more Arctic haunts."—*Lyell, l.c.*, p. 375.

§ See *Professor Huxley, Man's Place in Nature*, pp. 135-6. "Sufficient grounds exist for the assumption that man co-existed with the animals found in the diluvium" (*Huxley*). "Perhaps the conversion into land of the bed of the glacial sea, and the immigration into the newly upheaved region of the elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus, which co-existed with the fabricators of the St. Acheul flint hatchets, were events which preceded in time the elevation of the Irish drift, and union of that island with England. Ireland may have continued for a longer time in the state of an archipelago, and was therefore for a much shorter time inhabited by the large extinct post-Pliocene Pachyderms." (The remains of *Felephas Primigenius*, with two species of bear, *Ursus Arctus* and *U. Spelæus*, reindeer, horse, &c., have been found in a cave near Dangarvon.)—See *Lyell, l.c.*, pp. 271-2.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOMORIAN SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND.

Among the earlier colonies of Ireland, of European origin, that which is known as the Fomhoraic, or Fomorian, counts as the first. The Fomorians, as traditionally viewed, were Africans—"African Sea Champions," commonly so styled.

The occasion of the first appearance of the name of this people in Irish history originated, it would seem, in the following incident: In course of his rule in Ireland, Nemedius had erected for himself, in the Northern and Southern parts of the Kingdom, two royal residences. The builders of these palatial mansions—a character for superior architectural skill, or competency as tradesmen, largely influencing more probably in the choice—were individuals of the stranger piratical tribe, so accounted, of Fomorians, some of whom had already effected a lodgement in the Northern part of the island. Influenced by a feeling of self pride, or distrust lest they should afterwards be employed by vassal lords or chieftains in the erection of similar, or, it might be, yet grander structures, Nemedius—so runs tradition—caused all the workmen concerned in the construction of these regal edifices to be violently put an end to on the morning following their completion!*

But an outrage so perfidious and abhorrent as this might not be overlooked or unavenged by the kinsmen or clan of the unoffending and pitiable slain. Accordingly, the Fomorians, whose apparently slender ranks at the time were most probably speedily recruited to some extent by fresh succours somehow derived from their countrymen beyond sea, assumed without delay an attitude of active and relentless hostility; for, win or lose, crime so great and startling might not but cry aloud throughout the injured society—such is the indefeasible law of Nature—for commensurate reparation and punishment, if capable of being exacted. And now defeated in three successive encounters with the Nemedians, they yet proved entirely successful in a fourth, through, it is said, the opportune and fated arrival at the critical moment on the Irish shore of a numerous body of their maritime friends. The result, according to traditional

* Keating, *History of Ireland*, pp. 18, 19.

account, was the precipitate flight of Nemedius himself from Ireland, and the effectual subjugation of those of his subject people who outlived the recent fierce and bloody broil.*

As to the ethnical derivation of the Fomorians, much of hopeless obscurity, no doubt, exists.† Were they, as the tradition would seem to imply, Ethiopians‡ or Egyptians? Tyrians or Carthagenians? In so far apparently as can be made out, between them and one or other of these particular races of men, mental or physical affinity undoubtedly there is none.

At any rate, that they are not identifiable physically with either of the Hamitic races is a proposition which, the probabilities of the case considered, may very fairly be viewed as accepted. If in reality they had exhibited any marked peculiarity with respect either to hue of skin, or character of hair, reference to one or other of these striking and distinctive physical features should scarcely be expected to have entirely escaped bardic observation.§

On the other hand, if the impliedly remote period of the Fomorian ascendancy and rule in Ireland is admitted, Carthagenians or Phœnicians they assuredly could not have been, since the Tyrian foundation of Carthage in Libya, or Northern Africa, dates only from about 814 B.C.|| In Ireland, indeed, no inscriptions in the Phœnician character have hitherto been detected, and who will care seriously to contend that, of either of its diverse monumental remains, any particular one should, in reality, be considered as exhibiting internal evidence distinctive

* *Keating, History of Ireland.*

† The Fomorians were regarded by Keating as a Semitic people, who migrated to Ireland from the African Continent. But the idea is purely visionary.

The use of the mantle—"fit house for an outlaw, meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief"—was introduced into Ireland, according to Spencer, by the "Northern nations." In the raw, cold Irish climate, the Northmen found "special use for that weed, as their house, their bed, and their garment."—*View of the State of Ireland*, 1596, p. 85. Apparently none of the habits or customs common to early Ireland are in the least suggestive of an African origin.

‡ The Ethiopians are said by Herodotus (b. iii. c. 20) to be the tallest and handsomest men in the whole world. On the contrary, they are mentioned by Strabo (xvi. p. 1162), as being generally of small stature.—*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, vol. ii., p. 416, note.

§ With respect to the original natives of Africa, the Ethiopians included, Gibbon observes that "the hand of nature has flattened their noses, covered their heads with shaggy wool, and tinged their skin with inherent and indelible blackness. But (it is added) the olive complexion of the Abyssinians, their hair, shape, and features, distinctly mark them as a colony of Arabs."—(*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. v., p. 266.

|| Bunsen.

of its Phœnician origin? The conclusion, therefore, is that that country was at no time the seat of a Phœnician colony.

The fact, indeed, would seem to be, that the Fomorian foundation in Ireland was of European origin. Assuming the particular community or nation of which it was a filiation as belonging to the great Celtic sub-division of the Indo-European, or Arian, family in Europe, it may not improbably, on some grounds, be considered as ethnically identifiable with, or, at least, closely assimilating in character and language to the Cymry*—rude and somewhat warlike Scandinavian Nomads, of whom the civilised world first experienced bitter knowledge through their historic invasion of Southern Germany, France, and Italy, in the time of Caius Marius. Of the different great and desolating migrations that thus early set in from the Northern parts of Europe towards its Southern and more cultivated and genial regions, this is remarkable equally as initiative of the series, and as consisting not of one particular horde, but of a combination of sundry nations whose countries lay contiguous to or adjoined the shores of the Baltic.†

But the maritime adventures of the Northmen date most probably at a period long antecedent to that of their first great expeditionary movement by land; nor is it unreasonable to suppose that, in course of their sea-faring life, which in character was mainly piratical, a band of these sturdy and venturous people effected perchance a descent on the Irish coast, founding a settlement, as is alleged, on the Northern part of the island.‡ Through the haze of a long succession of intervening centuries it does, in fact, dimly appear to us that, about the commencement of the era of these vast and tumultuous movements of population, in which wave after wave of vandal hordes impetuously rolled from the Northern towards the Southern regions of

* The Celts had an unvarying tradition that they came from the East, and it is a fact concerning which there can be no question that one of the main divisions of the Celtic people has always borne the name of Cymry as its special national designation. The Celts were doubtless the primitive inhabitants of Gaul, Belgium, and the British islands—possibly, also, of Spain and Portugal. In all these countries Cymry are found, either as the general Celtic population, or as a leading section of it (*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, vol. iii., pp. 186-7, note). See Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, vol. ii., c. xi., whose conclusion is, that the two nations of the Cymry and the Gael may be properly comprised under the common name of Celts.

† Prichard, *Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii., p. 98. Compare Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. i., p. 290.

‡ Now County Donegal. Representatives of this settlement may yet be met with at Gweedore, the property of Lord George Hill.

continental Europe, Ireland, insularly situated as she is, became the outlying seat of a European colony. Derivatively, then, to which of the European nations who spoke the Celtic tongue should this ancient settlement with greater reason be definitely referred? Any view, doubtless, in reference to a determination of the point must necessarily be largely conjectural; but the question in reality appears to divide between the Cymry,* on the one hand, and the Belgæ, those of them that were of German origin, on the other; though of these two alternative views the balance of probability would seem to incline more decidedly in favour of the former.

* "The Cymry, or rather the Celtic hordes generally, spread themselves by degrees over the vast plains of Central Europe, lying between the Alps on one side, and the Baltic Sea and German Ocean on the other. It probably required a fresh impulsion from the East to propel the Celts yet further westward, and to make them occupy the yet remote regions of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. This impulsion seems to have been given by the Goths and other Teutons, who by degrees possessed themselves of the countries between the Danube and the Baltic.

"In the British Islands, the Anglo-Saxon Teutons in their earlier conquests displaced the Cymry, and drove them beyond their border; but these last maintained themselves in various places—in Cornwall, Wales, the Scotch Highlands, and Ireland—until the inauguration of a new policy. When the Cymry of Wales and Cornwall, the Gaels in Scotland, and the Erse in Ireland, submitted to Anglo-Saxon supremacy, they retained their lands, their language, and even their name."

It may be added that the identity of the Cymry of Wales with the Cimbri of the Romans seems to be sufficiently well established upon the grounds stated by Niebuhr and Arnold. The historical connection of these latter with the Cimmerii of Herodotus, though it cannot be proved, is nevertheless highly probable.—See *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, vol. iii., pp. 190-1; 186-8.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRBOLGIAN SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND.

THE next of these settlements, or that which followed after the Fomorian, was the Firbolgian. Traditionally the immigrant Fir Bolgs counted 5,000 in number; the period which has been assigned for their plantation of Ireland dating about 210 years subsequently to that by the Nemedians.*

The legendary history of this noted colony is succinctly as follows:—Halting, in course of their apparently desultory migrations, for some time in Greece, where, as is alleged, they were rigorously subjected by the native chieftains to a variety of servile occupations of a laborious and irksome nature—such, for instance, as carrying earth in leathern bags from low lying grounds up to hill tops, bringing clay to the surface of the ground from deep pits, &c.—the tribe eventually got fairly tired of their hard lot, sighing, so it may be presumed, for individual freedom, as well as more hopeful prospects, through change of present residence. Now, it might be imagined that, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, the idea, not of escape by flight to a new and distant region, but of overt insurrection and rebellion against their seemingly next to Egyptian taskmasters, should rather have suggested itself in vindication of the violated rights of national sojourn, of which, as we learn, the body at large, ill or well grounded, so grievously complained. Such, however, was not the case. Retaliatory proceedings, which naturally commend themselves so strongly to a vengeful spirit, may then have been deemed, for more reasons, probably, than one, as impolitic, and all the more so, perhaps, as the immediate requirements of the situation might, at least, be equally safely and surely met by the adoption of the alternative view which most likely early influenced, or that of migration in mass to foreign climes and pastures new. Moreover, this view had experience in its favour, as well as coinciding, which it did, with the prevalent spirit of the age.

In a reasoning or unreasoning assent on the part of the many to the public opinions or views of the leading or governing few, we discover a feature in some degree characteristic of every

* *Raymond's Keating, History of Ireland, 1732.*

popular community, in every age and condition of civilisation or barbarism. From a sense of mental indolence, or of distraction, incident to the unavoidable cares and duties of every-day life, men, especially in a rude state of society, infinitely prefer accepting for granted the express dicta of their superiors in intelligence or experience in public matters to, it may be fancied, the bootless task of thinking or judging for themselves as to the polity and probable results of the individual subjects to which such dicta relate. They thus readily become the tacit and unquestioning instruments of social or political adventure, whatever may be its character or object. In the present case, therefore, it may well be imagined that with the Firbolgian chieftains and learned men originated the proposition of an immediate but secret departure, by what means possible, but, at all risks, from an obnoxious land and a people rendered yet more obnoxious through their unprovoked and wanton violation of the common rights of hospitality, or of sojourn at first freely accorded to them, and of gloriously effecting, in the interests of civilisation or of human kind, a settlement, or re-settlement, perchance, of the "Sea-rocked Isle of the West"—a proposition which, in any circumstances, would, doubtless, have been freely acquiesced in by the body at large, but which, as matters then stood, was probably hailed with universal delight. Yet the nature and implied details of the scheme considered, resources and energy and skill in character nought else than heroic or divine, might alone be deemed equal dauntlessly to encounter and brave incidental impediments and perils, numerous as grave, that, whether foreseen or not, must naturally have barred the way to a successful issue.*

But in relation to this storied immigration it is here parenthetically noteworthy that, among the few particulars mentioned, those of which we should have expected especially to have heard have, intentionally or not, entirely escaped bardic allusion. Thus by what means the Fir Bolgs acquired a knowledge of the fact of the existence of Ireland, or of her geographical position on the globe, no mention is made. Yet that they should have lacked,

* *Keating, loc. cit.* According to Keating, much of what is known respecting the Firbolgian settlement is derived from the archæological poet, Conaire (*Book of Invasions*). From Coemmann, the bard, O'Flaherty learnt that there were but nine Bolgian kings in Ireland, who reigned thirty-six, or, according to Keating, fifty-six years. In the opinion of some, the last king of the Fir Bolg race was Loch (The Sea). (*Dr. Wood, M.D., Primitive Habits of Ireland, 1821.*) During his reign, 100,000, so-said, of the Fir-Bolgians were slain by the Silver-Handed Nuadha, King of the Tuatha-de-Danain.—See *Dr. Prichard, Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii., p. 169.

or appear to lack, as implied in the tradition, the remotest idea either of the reality or geography of the country whose future lords and masters they were surely destined to become, is manifestly an unpoetic as unnatural violation of the conventional spirit and exigency of veriest romance or fiction. In a case such as this, ignorance can scarcely be viewed in the light of a gain. It is all very well, and very natural too, that the expectant colonists should not be represented as intuitively possessed of a foreknowledge of the diversified scenic grandeur or beauties in which Ireland richly abounded, but which to be known required to be personally observed. The same remark equally applies to the flora and fauna, those of them that serve more especially as food for man, of which she naturally might boast. Neither might the character of the climate of which she was possessed, or its relation to human health or comfort, be properly divined. All these and similar matters it were right and proper to count among those hidden secrets which the future might reveal. But a migration to Ireland such as this presupposes, or at least ought to presuppose, on the part of its leaders, the idea of its existence and site among the islands of the world. In this respect, then, the story is singularly at fault.

On the supposition, however, that the destined land of their future home, no less than of their bardic renown, was already descried in the mind's eye by the Firbolgian chiefs, and, moreover, that, 3,000 or 4,000 years ago, the land and water in Southern Europe bore a corresponding relation to each other as to definite limits not very dissimilar at least if not quite identical to that which now exists. between the shores of the *Ægean* that were yet to become classic, and those of Ireland, many miles of unknown and trackless ocean intervened: how then was the exodus, comprising so large a body as it is represented to have done, to be successfully attempted. Included in the tradition is a key to the mystery.

Assembling together at a given time and place, agreeably most probably to some preconcerted arrangement, the Firbolgians, under direction of their principal leaders, made a dash at once for the "Grecian shipping,"* seizing without opposition or difficulty such portion of craft as, so we are led to believe, proved

* After the death of Codrus, B.C. 960-950, the Dorians from Megara settled in Rhodes. Thence they went to Iberia, where they founded Rhode (Rhodes), on the slopes of the Pyrenees, and to the South of Italy, where they founded Parthenope. In the Iberian Sea, they possessed the Balearic Isles, as well as Corsica. They had ships many years before the establishment of the Olympian

amply sufficient to convey them from the strands of Hellas. We may not indeed but suppose that, in individual size and efficiency for transport services, this particular craft reduced to comparative insignificance the classic bark which Ulysses and his companions at the commencement of each short voyage drew down into the "divine sea." But however that may have been, of incidents in connection with the voyage, such as might readily be imagined, the legend is unpoetic enough as to be utterly destitute. In this respect it strikingly and disadvantageously contrasts with the analogous story of the Argonautic expedition, which no doubt is first as typical of its class, and which it needs not be observed is fittingly—gorgeously indeed—clothed with appropriate poetical adornment. Yet clearly there existed in the one case, equally as in the other, margin ample enough for incidental decorative embellishment after a sort, that is, had the imagination of the Irish bard been fired with poetical fancy akin to that of the Greek. As it is, between the period of their precipitate departure from the shores of the Grecian Archipelago, and that of their mysterious appearance in unbroken number—so it is said—and with elated hearts on the Irish coast, the legendary history of the Firbolgian *émigrés* presents a wide and unintelligible blank. Nor in favour of a hypothetical restoration of this defective link in the chain of events may any analogical reason or argument be apparently adduced. The truth is, for this particular breach in continuous narrative there is now no cure.

But the voyage happily concluded, and possession of the much desired country of their adoption once fairly acquired, the principal leaders of the jubilant immigrant host, who were five in number, divided the kingdom—so the story goes—equally between them.

"Five warlike chiefs, Geanann, Rughraidhe,
Gan, Slainge, and Sean Gann, shared the island."*

Of their followers, as we are told, a corresponding quintuple division ensued: each chieftain, in accordance with the previous terms of agreement, thus boasting, on proceeding to take possession of his allotted district or province, his 1,000 attendants.

games. B.C., 776.—See *Bunsen, Egypt's Place in History*, vol. iii., p. 628. The Corinthian thalassocracy, or maritime supremacy, dates from B.C. 721 (Oly. xiv. 4). They were the first who built triremes.

* A.M. 2657, B.C. 1347, the Firbolgs divided Ireland into five parts (*Ware*): The most ancient division of Ireland was two-fold: the Northern part extending from the Liffey and Lough Corrib being called Leth, or Leigh-Conn, the Southern part Leigh-Moah. The former belonged to Conn, the latter to Mogha.—*Ware, Antiquities*.

Now as to the historical character of this tradition there can be little or no question ; but how the real matter of fact element, which is fundamental, has come to be so densely shrouded as it is in mythical vesture, must be viewed most probably in the light of an insoluble problem. With regard to the meaning or wherefore of the spurious element in itself, wildly extravagant as it is, or in its relation to the historically genuine which it enshrouds as with an almost impenetrable veil, surmise is supererogatory indeed as all but vain. Thus in relation to its salient points, as, for instance, the temporary settlement of the Firbolgs in Hellas—the hardships to which they were gallingly subjected during that dark and mournful phase of their lives at the hands of the stranger Hellenes—their marvellous flight from a state of bondage or tyrannical oppression to a state of freedom—the artful ruse ascribed to them of the seizure of the Grecian shipping, and through which alone transmigration became reasonably practicable—their singularly propitious sea voyage, in which unknown seas were splendidly traversed that yet lay without equatorial latitudes that bring exemption from storms—the exceeding number of their gallant body—their glorious plantation or re-plantation of the green Isle of the West: in reference to a somewhat connected chain of heroic incident or adventure such as has been here roughly forged by poetical fancy, are we warranted, the question is, in viewing it in the light of crude and undeveloped epic? Or rather, on the contrary, does it not in reality come back upon us as the wild and fantastic para-itic growth of some wretched and bewildered dreamer, vain alike of the high antiquity and heroic character of his nation and race?

But turning now from the superimposed mythical to the historical element on which the tradition is really grounded, what do we find as more or less well substantiated? If it be accepted as a fact that, at an early period in her annals, though how early it is now impossible to say, Ireland, meantime, possibly, the undivided theatre of vegetal and animal life, attracted somehow to her shores, peculiarly grand or sublime, it may have been, in their very desolateness and solitariness, a body of people called the Fir-Bolgs, who were destined, besides the redemption of the country from a state of nature, to inaugurate the principle of kingship, the question then is, who in reality were these people? Of which of the world-old nationalities, Asiatic or European, ought they to be considered with greater reason as a derivative branch? Of course the legendary account as to the region at least when they directly derived must be looked upon as simply fabulous. The idea, on

the contrary, of their Gallic origin is in character and complexion much less visionary.

Guided chiefly, if not solely, by distinctions of race, Cæsar divided ancient France into three great divisions, of which Belgica—so called—formed one;* and as the region of the Aquitani was separated by the Garonne from the central and South-Western portions of the Gallic kingdom, whose aggregate population consisted almost if not entirely of federative communities characterised by the Celtic form of speech: so on the other hand, the region of the Belgæ was equally so separated by the Marne and the Seine as by a natural boundary line. All the Gallic territory North and North-East of these latter rivers belonged exclusively to tribes of the so named Belgic family: the Caletes, it is just noteworthy here, of Cæsar—the Calletæ and Calleti of Ptolemy and Pliny—being the particular tribe specified as occupying the tract which extends from the mouth of the Seine to that of the Somme.†

Yet the Belgæ derived not all from one common stock: some tribes partaking the Celtic character and constitution in distinctive form, so accounted; some, though the fewest in number, the Teutonic. In manners and habits of life a marked distinction, as might be expected, exhibited between the two distinct races of people. Respecting the former or original Belgic communities, who occupied the heart of Belgica, and to whom all the principal cities belonged, it is especially noted that, as compared with the Belgæ of German origin, they had more settled abodes, and towns or cities well known by name. Moreover, in matters of religious belief they conformed essentially to the Celtic nations that adjoined; assenting, in common with them, to the Druidical hierarchy.‡ Yet according to Cæsar, both these varieties of Belgæ, as well as the Aquitani, differed from the purely Celtic Gauls in speech, no less than in customs and in laws: but whether the difference in idiom between the Belgæ and Celtæ formed an entire

* *De Bell. Gall.*, v., c. 12.—“It has been handed down to memory—a most improbable subject for tradition—that the people who inhabited the interior part of Britain were produced in the island itself. The maritime part is possessed by those who passed over from the Belgæ for the sake of plunder and hostile invasion, and those are mostly distinguished by the names of those states from which they originally came to fix their abode in and cultivate the newly conquered lands. There is an infinite number of people; their houses are very numerous, and nearly resemble those of the Gauls, and their cattle are in great numbers.”

† See *Dr. Prichard's Chapter on "Population of the British Isles" in Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii.

‡ *Ibid.*

diversity in language, or amounted only to a variety of dialect sufficient to serve as a distinguishing mark between them, does not very clearly appear.*

That South Britain at an early period became the seat of a colony of Gaulish Celts, there is now little or no question; but whether, as has been surmised, any migration of this people ever set in the direction of Ireland, is highly problematical. The supposition indeed is contravened by no impossible or improbable circumstance were it only sustained, which, in so far at least as I am aware, it is not, by any sort of evidence. But if, on the other hand, the Belgæ, in imitation of their Celtic neighbours, sent colonies across the channel to England, and whose respective settlements there were destined in no long time to be intermixed so as to constitute together one common geographical population; neither can it well be doubted that Ireland, at some period in her traditionary history, however remote, equally proved the field of an outlying foundation of this historic people. Moreover if, as Dr. Prichard considers, such English settlements as derived from Belgica consisted not of the Belgic Germans, but of the aboriginal Belgic tribes which assimilated most closely to the Gallic Celts,† it may equally reasonably be inferred that the Irish colony in question was none other than a stray establishment of the self-same clans.

But if, through the long, dark vista of possibly over thirty centuries that intervene, we would seek to realise, however dimly, in idea, not indeed the motives or determining causes of an immigration so considerable and important as the Firbolgian in reality appears to have been, but the means by which it was

* Tacitus (*Agricola*, xi.) expresses himself as if the idioms of the Gaulish nations were one and the same. According to him, the Gaulish nations, at least the great mass of them, had one language, and that their language was very similar to that of the Britons (*nec sermo multum diversus*).—See *Prichard*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 136-7.

The Gaelic Highlanders of Scotland spoke the same language, and were the same people, as the Irish Gael in the time of St. Patrick. A.D., 430, and in that of the earliest bards whose poems are extant. They are generally supposed to have been a different race from the old Caledonians, both by those who hold that the Caledonians were a British or Welsh race, and by those who agree with Pinkerton in looking upon them as Germans. It is curious that the oldest Irish compositions extant represent the Gael as a fair, yellow-haired people. There seems to have been a constant tradition that the ancient Gael were a fair-haired race. According to the old legend which contains the story of the Fir-Bolg Kings, one of them was named *Fiacha Cinnfionnan*. *Cinnfionnan* means "white-heads," and the former had this designation, because most of the Irish of his time were remarkable for their white or fair hair.—*Keating*, as above, p. 40; *O'Connor. Res. Hibern. Scriptor., Prolegom.*, p. 124.

† *Loc. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 136.

effected, as well as how a foreknowledge of Ireland as implied was acquired, all such inquiry, in character inevitably speculative, must necessarily prove vain. With a recognition of the bald and disjointed fact itself, apart from the faintest conception either as to its chronology or attendant circumstances, we are forced, however grudgingly, simply to remain content.

In connection with the subsequent history of this noted plantation, in so far as it can be made out, one important point, distinctive of its social or political organisation, must at least be admitted as historically established: I refer, it will be anticipated, to the institution of the Pentarchy,—a form of government* which influenced, with but few interruptions of shorter or longer continuance, throughout the entire traditionary or pre-historic period. It needs here but to add, that the names and successions of its dynastic princes have been traced out of the Irish chronicles, and have been transmitted down to us by both Keating and O'Flaherty.

* From assertions of Irish historians, says Ware, drawn from poetical compositions of bards and plans laid down by antiquaries, we should be obliged to own that the government of Ireland in ancient times was exceedingly well regulated, and the administration of it carried on with great decency and order. For they say that every monarch had always his retinue of ten officers—lord, judge, augur or Draid, physician, poet, antiquary, musician, and three stewards of the household.—*Keating*.

But, continues Ware, if the complexion of the whole Irish history be considered, it will appear probable that the monarchy, though elective, was seigniorial and despotic, and the administration of the government military and violent; otherwise, how can it be accounted for that, of 178 monarchs of the Milesian colony, from Heber and Heremon to Roderick O'Connor, who was King of Ireland at the time of the English invasion, only four died natural deaths, sixty were treacherously and barbarously murdered, and for the most part succeeded by their assassins, and seventy-one slain in battle, as far as can be collected from the history of those dark ages? To what else can this be ascribed but to extreme looseness and disorder of the Irish Government?—*Antiquities*. In reference to the Irish, Spencer says that "the sword was never yet out of their hand but when they are weary of warres, and brought down to extreme wretchedness. Then they creepe a little, perhaps, and sue for grace, till they have gotten new breath, and recovered strength againe."—*View of the State of Ireland*, p. 19.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TUATHA-DE-DANAIN SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND.

THE immigration of a people called Tuatha-de-Danain followed after that of the Firbolgs. Odd name, sure enough, which these particular immigrants bore, but not more singular than the general character with which traditional history, wayward, sometimes, as extravagant in its imaginative limnings, has invested them.

No doubt, an explanation of the origin and sanction of *soubriquets*, or nick-names, is immediately to be sought in the principle of suggestion. The imaginary name is suggested by the thing perceived almost intuitively and, as it were, by a sort of mental necessity; but the main charm consists in the pictorial expressiveness of the term usually at once forcible, trenchant, and racy of a waggish or humorous vein, which is applied in designation, and which in character partakes essentially of the imaginative. An example will suffice to illustrate my meaning. Let us fancy an individual who is the subject of a striking physical or mental peculiarity, natural or acquired, and sooner or later almost inevitably the particular frailty or infirmity which challenges attention elicits the application of an epithet which, in effect of its distinctive appositeness, as well as piquancy and force, indelibly attaches through life, and by which ever afterwards such an one becomes chiefly, if not exclusively, known in his immediate neighbourhood or range of his acquaintance. Whether or not the explanation offered be philosophically correct, the fact at least is so; and what in this regard is true of individuals is equally applicable to popular communities, ancient as well as modern.

Accordingly, the historic appellative by which these colonists are now known to us originated in connection with, and was designed as expressive of, certain national predilections or practices to which they would seem to have become constitutionally addicted, and among which, as we are led to infer, witchcraft, legerdemain, and jugglery about equally combined; for we are very pointedly told that the Tuatha-de-Danains were so-called on account of their being the descendants of the sons of Danain (a Nemedian himself), who were "so expert in the black art,

and the mysteries of charms and enchantments, that the inhabitants of the country where they lived designated them by the name of gods.”*

On the subjugation and expulsion in part of the Nemedians from Ireland, consequent, as already related, on the formidable and victorious inroad of their sovereign successors, the Fomorians, Danain, the third son of Nemedius, together with his followers,† found an asylum, so says tradition, in Achœa;‡ sojourning there for a limited period, and acquiring, somehow, at the same time, very varied supernatural knowledge and skill, in character strongly suggestive of the fearful power and influence, whether of the Erynnés, avenging Zeus (Jupiter), or the Witches in Macbeth. Influenced, in common with Eastern nations of the earlier eras, by a spirit of migration,§ and especially, for a variety of specified reasons, becoming weary of Achœa and the Achœans, they

* See Keating, *History of Ireland*, pp 25, 26, 27.

† In the reign of Luighaidh Lamfhadha, one of the princes of the Tuatha-de-Danain dynasty, the so-called “Assembly of Tailtean,” in County Meath—the Olympic festival of Ireland—was first instituted. At this great and popular annual gathering, which commenced on the first of every August, the different ranks and classes of Ireland would seem to have been freely represented. Of the different recreative sports which constituted one of its prominent features, and which contributed in no slight degree to its long sustained celebrity in the popular sentiment, tilts and tournaments, as we learn, figured among the more attractive and exciting. At the Olympic games the prize awarded to the victor was a wreath of the wild olive: whether, in the case of the successful competitor in the lists at Tailtean, any similar honorary distinction was conferred, we do not know. There can be little doubt that, in the one case as well as in the other, the incentive to competition was individual honour and fame, and that merely. At all events, Irish life at this period must have contrasted with the manners of contemporary neighbouring nations, as well as of the earlier Irish themselves.—(Keating, as above; see Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. ii., p. 422.)

‡ The country held by the Achans (Achœa) passed into the hands of the Dorians on their successful invasion, after leaving their seats under Parnassus. The Dorian conquest of Achœa (Peloponnese) dates about B.C. 1046. “According to common tradition,” observes Mr. Rawlinson, “the Achans, expelled by the Dorians from Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia, at the time of the return of the Heracleids (B.C. 1104) returned Northwards and expelled the Ionians from their country, which became the Achœa of history.”—(Rawlinson’s *Herodotus*, b. i., c. 145, vol. i., p. 145, note: see *Ibid*, vol. iii., p. 336.)

§ Between migration and colonisation there is essential difference. “Colonisation is naturally slow and gradual, being connected with the regular advance and growth of the colonising power; migration is bound by no such laws, being abnormal and irregular, the result of a sudden need or a sudden impulse, and therefore rapid; startling, miraculous—in a brief space effecting vast changes, and often beginning and ending with ten or twenty years.”—(Rawlinson’s *Herodotus*, app. to b. v, Ess. ii., p. 375.)

determined at length, for better or for worse, on a change of residence. After prolonged and tiresome wanderings, however, in divers latitudes and climes, they found themselves again, almost accidentally, on Irish soil, the nucleus, as they were destined to become, of a new settlement. In course of their devious and circuitous journeyings, Norway and Denmark were equally visited and gladly availed of as temporary halting-places, both the Norwegians and Danes humanely as freely according to them not only a friendly reception, but perfect liberty of speech and action during their limited term of stay. Nor in respect of their particular doings while peaceful sojourners in the wild but already civilised regions of the Northmen, is legendary story uncommunicative; but the historic reminiscence especially associated with the life of this singular people, and which more than anything else has tended in itself to establish their name, relates, as is known, to their importation from Norway to Ireland of the celebrated stone, Lia Fail, whose various supernatural qualities, the theme of many a legend, they so thoroughly appreciated and venerated if they were not in reality the first to elicit and establish.*

Respecting the legendary history of the Tuatha-de-Danain people it would be more curious than instructive to go into details. I shall now, therefore, content myself by simply noting that the domination in Ireland of this colonial foundation comprises, according to the Psalter of Cashel, 197 years—the aggregate number of its princes or kings who are represented as having filled the Irish throne, and which constitutes the Tuatha-de-Danain dynasty, being nine.

Now, it may be asked, are the Tuatha-de-Danains, so-called,

- * "At length these strolling necromancers sall'd
From Norway, and landed on the Northern shore
Of Scotland; but perfidiously convey'd
Four monuments of choice antiquity
From the four cities given them by the Danes :—
From Falias the stone of Destiny,
From Gorias they brought the well try'd sword
Of Luighaidh, from Forias a spear,
From Murias a caldron."

—Keating, as above.

"The most remarkable particular recorded of the Tuatha-de-Danains is that they brought to Ireland the famous stone, which roared when their kings were crowned on it. This continued till the Christian era, when, the Devil having lost much of his power, the magical stone was silenced. It was afterwards carried to Scone by Fergus, who conquered Scotland, and is now in Westminster Abbey, in the seat of St. Edward's chair."—(Prichard, *Physical History of Mankind* vol. iii. : *Ancient Irish Traditions*.)

directly traceable to their derivative source or stock? If so, to which of the European nations or tribes may they with greater probability be supposed as more closely affiliating in origin and blood?

No doubt the question of identification is involved in much obscurity; but, from analogy in general feature, physical and mental, as well as close similarity in language and habits of life, Dr. O'Connor* is strongly induced to believe that the origines of this settlement of Ireland were the Damnonii of South Britain. But the Damnonii themselves were a colonial foundation of a date only a little more remote: of which of the cognate races or nations of men, then, it may again be inquired, are they to be accounted as more probably a lop-off?

The original plantation of the South of England, as already observed, seems mainly ascribable to successive influxes of bands as well of Belgic as of Gallic origin.† Nor can it well be doubted that, in respect of these early English immigrants, which included most probably the Damnonii among the number, the Celtic, not the Teutonic, element constituted largely the predominant element.‡ If so, and on the presumption of the correctness of O'Connor's hypothesis, the inference unavoidably

* *Prolegomena to the Irish Histories.*

+ *Prichard, loc. cit.*, vol. iii.: *Ancient Irish Traditions.*

‡ Some of the Tuatha-de-Danain nobles were buried at Tailtean, but Brugh was their principal place of interment, as well as of those of the Firbolgian race. In the Western and South-Western parts of Ireland Firbolgian and Tuatha-de-Danain houses may even yet be met with. They are of rotund form inside and out, or bee-hive shaped, but constructed without lime cement, the use of which in stone erections was not introduced into Ireland till after the Christian era.—(*Petrie, Round Towers of Ireland, Trans., R. I. A.*, vol. xx.) There can be no doubt that in Ireland stone without cement, as in the Palace of Emania, preceded by several centuries the stone and lime combination in building. As remarked by Mr. Petrie, "the earlier colonists in the country, the Firbolgian and Tuatha-de-Danain tribes, which our histories bring hither from Greece at a very remote period, were accustomed to build not only their fortresses but their dome-roofed houses and sepulchres of stone without cement, and in the style now called Cyclopean and Pelasgic."—(*L. C.*, p. 126.) In the poem of "Flann of the Monastery," which is referred to the eleventh century, and which has been ascribed to persons of St. Patrick's household, the names of three stone masons are given, with the remark that they were the first builders of Damhliage, or stone churches, in Ireland. The church or Damhliag, at Duleek, which was erected in St. Patrick's time, is considered by Mr. Petrie as probably the first of stone and lime in Ireland. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, in 1145 the first enormous lime-kiln, for supplying lime for repairing Churches previously dilapidated, was made by St. Galesius, Archbishop of Armagh.—(*L. C.*, p. 153—see p. 102 of this most able and interesting memoir.)

thus presses, that the Tuatha-de-Danain and Firbolgian immigrations into Ireland equally owned at bottom a common geographical origin and a common ancestry.*

* "The island known to the Romans by the names of Hibernia and Juverna, appears to have been tolerably well known in the age of Ptolemy, who gives us a description of its coasts, and enumerates the tribes and towns both in the maritime districts and in the interior. On the Northern coast dwelt the Veniconii, in the modern County of Donegal; and the Robogii in Londonderry and Antrim. Adjoining the Veniconii, Westward, were the Erdini or Erpeditani, and next to them the Magates, all in Donegal. Farther South were the Auten, in Sligo; the Gangani, in Mayo; and the Velibori, or Ellebri, in the district between Galway and the Shannon. The South-West part of the island, with a great portion of the interior, was inhabited by the Iverni, who gave name not only to the great river, but to the whole island, and who may, perhaps, be considered as aboriginal inhabitants. The South-Eastern promontory, now called Carnsore Point, was then known by the title of the Holy Promontory (*ἱερὸν ἄκρον*), to the North-West of which, in the modern Counties of Waterford and Tipperary, Ptolemy places a tribe called Usdices or Vodices, according to the variations of the MSS. In the modern city of Wexford dwelt the Brigantes; and Northward from them were the Coriondi, in Wicklow; the Menapii, in Dublin; the Cauici, on the banks of the Boyne; the Blanii, or Eblani, on the Bay of Dundalk; the Voluntii, in Down; and the Darini, bordering on the Robogdii, in Antrim. The three last may be considered as colonies from the opposite shore of Britain. This circumstance," it is added, "gives additional force to the conjecture that the Brigantes, with their dependent tribe, the Voluntii, are to be considered as the remains of the earlier Celtic population of the latter island."—(*Wright's Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, pp 42, 43.)

CHAPTER VII.

THE MILESIAN SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND.

OF the series of primitive immigrations into Ireland whose reminiscences have been caught up and perpetuated in the national legends, that which is known as the Milesian forms the last, if not in reality the most important of all.* Tradition, as is known, assigns for the Milesian colony a Spanish origin, Biscany being, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, the particular region whence it derived. At the time the expedition which was destined to issue in this great colonial foundation was being planned, the King of Galicia, we are told, was Milesius,† a Scythian by descent. If so, and irrespective of the question as to the particular race to which the colonists may be presumed to have borne closest affinity, an explanation at least of the distinctive designation by which they are especially known to history is thus rendered sufficiently intelligible. The chronological epoch, it may be remarked, which the Irish annalists have accounted the Milesian settlement as dating is 1300 B.C.

To the Milesians Ireland was as yet an unknown region. That they were destined eventually to settle the most Westerly territory in Europe, appears, indeed, through Druidical prescience,

* "The Milesians," says Dr. Pritchard, "were the most celebrated and heroical of all the conquerors of Ireland, and the great boast of the Irish bards." What is known of their history is chiefly derived from the "Book of Invasions or Conquests," and from "Leabhar Dhroma Sneachta, or the snow-backed Book," said to have been written before the time of St. Patrick (A.D. 430). But traditions in relation to isolated points or events in their chequered story "are preserved in the poems or metrical fragments by Fiech (said to have been a pupil of St. Patrick), Cennfaolad, Maelmur, Coemann, Eochod, and other Irish bards, who composed their poems between the sixth and tenth centuries. These compositions, some of which have been printed from Irish MSS., contain the materials which the monkish chroniclers of a somewhat later period have worked up in their annals. Of the monkish chronicles, those of Tighernach, Innisfallen, Ulster, and Psalter of Cashel, are the most celebrated. A great part of the poetical fictions are even too wild to have obtained credit with the more sober of the chroniclers. Tighernach allows that all the "Irish monuments are uncertain down to the age of Kimbath, or that of the first Ptolemy."—(*Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii.: *Ancient Irish Traditions*.)

+ Sometimes called Mileadh, which is interpreted a soldier. A Marahal of Pharaoh Nectonebus, his military exploits while in the service of that Monarch, who was then at war with the Ethiopians, as well as his victories over the Visigoths in Spain, to which country he afterwards migrated from Egypt, have been outlined by Keating.—(*History of Ireland: The Milesian Colony*.)

to have already been distinctly divined; but the geographical situation of this Promised Land remained still a profound mystery. The fabulous tale touching this discovery to which we are treated, must, the character of its groundwork considered, clearly be referred to an era much later than the event itself. It is briefly this: Calmly ensconced on some highland of the Spanish peninsula, a Milesian chieftain or *savant*, of apparently unknown name, casually espied, by telescopic aid, a new land which fringed the horizon in the direction of the North-West, the atmosphere, of course, being peculiarly favourable, and the glass employed a marvellously good, or the eye which discerned a preternaturally keen one. Could this, then, be the country—such, most probably, was the idea which intuitively suggested itself to the proud discoverer—already indicated through Druidical prevision as the destined home of the Milesian race? * If so—and the inference doubtless might not but irresistably weigh—what, the question naturally would next be, the nature of its climate or character of its soil? In reference to human wants or human comfort and enjoyment, were the gifts of a munificent Nature, of which this as yet ideal isle of the sea could not but be a partaker, nevertheless such as might prove provocative of a transmigration, and, by consequence, the prospective foundation of a new kingdom? Then, was the region already an inhabited one? If so, of which of the different races of men were the native population more probably the descendants?

To a solution, in some sort, of questions such as these, of which the question as to the very existence of the particular land thus so singularly disclosed to the mind's eye was fundamental, the Milesians, it would seem, forthwith and with bated breath addressed themselves. Ith (Corn), son of Breogan and uncle of Milesius, was the chief on whom somehow devolved, in character of pioneer of the projected migration, the execution of the

* Sir James Ware (*Antiquities of Ireland*) observes that, "in times of Heathenism, the Druids were much consulted in public affairs, and were both legislators and judges." "Druid signifies a priest, and a person of singular learning and wisdom, and the Galedians (Milesians) were ever happy in the attendance of some of these extraordinary sages in all their travels and adventures till they came to Ireland, and afterwards up to the birth of Christianity."—(*Keating, loc. c.*, p. 40.)

"As legislators and judges, the Druids were arbiters in all public affairs, and were invested with a power to reward or punish. Every kind of privilege and immunity was conferred on them; they were also exempt from contributing to the necessities of the State; their doctrine was a kind of theology and philosophy; they professed the magic art, and the knowledge of futurity."—(*Abbe Mac Geoghegan, History of Ireland*, p. 56.)

equally arduous and perilous task. Availing himself of a single boat capable of accommodating, beside the necessary compliment of rowers, 150 picked men of the tribes of his nation, as a sort of military following, Ith, together with his son, Ludgadh, set out presently, so we are informed, on his voyage of discovery, making safely, in due time, the coast of Ireland or Inisfail, as it was then called, at some Northerly point, where, as his first act, he offered sacrifice to Neptune in grateful return for so propitious a passage.* In prosecution of the other objects in view, a progress in force into the interior of the country, under direction of such native guides as might be procurable, was then determined upon. And in the course of their march it somehow came out that there were then assembled at Oileag-Neid (now Inishowen) the three Tuatha-de-Danain princes, sons of Kearnada, who jointly ruled over Ireland, vehemently contesting, as it turned out, some knotty point which had arisen between them respecting the right of succession, as respectively claimed on some grounds by either, to the Irish crown. Thither the Milesian chieftain, with his son and select body of followers, directed, as best they might, their devious and tangled way.

The surprise and dread with which the Irish kings, as well as nobles, thus assembled in council, were seized on the sudden and unexpected presence of the stranger band, may well be imagined; but we learn that, if at least not quite reassured, their equanimity was somewhat restored on Ith frankly and courteously proclaiming the strictly peaceful character of the mission of which his name and race† had nominated him as the accredited representative. In the rude hospitalities that, it is said, ensued, we discover at once an outward show at least of present mutual respect and good will, and the dawn apparently of a social feature which gradually grew with the national life into quite a national characteristic; but the festivities over, and the nature and object of the present regal assemblage being delicately confided to Ith,

* Keating, l. c., on the Milesian Settlement.

† With respect to Tanist and Tanistry, see Spencer (*View of the State of Ireland*, pp. 10, 11, &c.)

‡ Anciently all men used to be called by the name of their septs, separate surnames not having been assumed up till a comparatively late period. In reference to Ireland, it was enacted, in the reign of Edward IV., that "thenceforth each should take upon himself a separate surname, either of his trade or faculty, or of some quality of his body or mind, or of the place where he dwelt, so that every one should be distinguished from the other, or from the most part, whereby they shall not only not depend on the head of their sept, as they now do, but also in time learn quite to forget his Irish nation."—(*Spencer, View of Ireland*, p. 246.)

the distinguished Milesian, accepting the hint, and in proof of his sense of gratitude and esteem for courtesy and kindness experienced, opportunely, and successfully it would seem, interposed his good offices, supported, doubtless, by sagacious utterances, in arranging, to the satisfaction of both parties concerned, the prevailing cause of not improbably a chronic dissension.* This done, and gleaned such information in connexion with the immediate object of his journey as the circumstances of the case permitted, he determined at once on retracing his steps coastwise, with the view of rejoining those of his people to whose particular charge, while absent, the boat had been confided, and re-embarking directly, with all his compatriots, making straight for the Spanish shore.

But Ith, so the story goes, had scarcely taken his departure from Oileag-Neid before the Irish kings, whose dark suspicion as to the real intent of his mission seems to have secretly influenced from the very moment of his unexpected arrival, became fired by a fit of furious resentment and revenge against the presumptuous and insolent intruder on their soil and at their court. Nor were the general character of his inquiries, any more than his laudatory remarks touching both the fineness of the climate† and fertility of the country, much calculated to disabuse their minds of the idea, that he and his followers but heralded, at fitting opportunity, the ingress of a more powerful force of their nation, incited by a desire of national conquest and dominion—a desire which might not but be all the more intensified by the probably flattering report which would be delivered on his return by this reputedly sharp-sighted and discriminating, but confidential envoy. To avert, if possible, by fair means or foul, the contingency of such a dread misfortune became thus a matter of the utmost importance; and since their route lay for the most part through a naturally wooded and tangled country, tenanted largely

* The language of this people and that of the Irish is said to have been identical. "According to the Book of Conquests," says Dr. Prichard, "not only the Milesians or Gaoidhil, but other descendants of Neimhidh, including the Fir-Bolg and the Tuatha-de-Dansin, spoke the Gaoidhealg or Gaelic language. Richard Creagh, Primate of Ireland, says that Gaelic was constantly used in Ireland, since the arrival of Neimhidh, viz., 630 years after the Deluge."—(*Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii.: *Ancient Irish Traditions*. See Keating, as above, p. 45.)

† Cambrensis says that, "of all countries Ireland is the most temperate; neither the burning heat of the Summer impels to the shade, nor the rigour of Winter invites man to the fire."—(*Topography of Ireland*, c. 25.) This account is confirmed by other writers, especially by Venerable Bede.—(*Ch. History*, b. i., c. i.)

at least equally by the wolf, the bear, and the wild boar,* and whose wild and dreary monotony of sound or sight was here and there relieved by mountain, lake, or river, fraught each with its own peculiar impediments or dangers, the Milesians, thus tracking out, necessarily slowly, their arduous and perilous way, could not possibly as yet be far distant from Oileag-Neid (Inishowen), the idea not unnaturally suggested itself to the Irish chiefs that, in case a sufficient force could be timeously collected together and unexpectedly brought to bear, vanquishment and slaughter of the entire band might reasonably be counted on with next to absolute certainty; and dead men it was doubtless already not indistinctly felt, could tell no tales. Accordingly, hot pursuit, with such military body as could in the circumstances be conveniently mustered, would seem instantly and unanimously to have been resolved upon. Overtaken and at once furiously engaged at Moy-Ith, so-called, in County Tyrone, a valiant and obstinate resistance against the treacherous assailants was nobly offered by the assailed, numerically the weaker party one cannot but feel disposed to think; but Ith, in the course of the conflict, receiving a fatal wound, the Milesians, such of them as were left, feeling the irreparable character of the loss which they had now sustained, beat, as best they might, a hasty but difficult and dangerous retreat, not, however, without carrying their dying leader along with them. And thus if, in this hotly contested field, somewhat celebrated in bardic story, victory inclined to the standard of the Irish princes, it tended, through its incompleteness, rather to precipitate than repress the occurrence of the very calamity of which, not unthinkingly, they were so fearfully apprehensive. The spoil had virtually eluded the net in which it was artfully designed to have been immeshed; and on learning from their own lips the act of wanton perfidy and violence of which their kinsmen in this expedition, peaceful as legitimate (so-accounted), had unprovokedly been the victims—and especially in effect of the dramatic exhibition before the whole assembled people, probably, by Ludgadh, not without wild lamentations and impassioned declamation in favour of national sympathy and redress, of the dead body of his heroic father, mercilessly slain in the national interest—the Milesians of all ranks and classes became thus thoroughly imbued with what, in modern

* The woods with which the country was formerly covered fed great numbers of fallow-deer; there are stags, boars, foxes, badgers, otters; wolves were likewise in Ireland, but have been entirely destroyed during the last century.—(Abbe MacGeoghegan, *History of Ireland*, p. 20.)

times, has been called here the "wild justice of revenge," and which, to meet the peculiar exigency of the case, it appears so to have been determined, should be prompt, sharp, and relentless.

The idea, grounded, as before observed, on Druidical prophecy, that the Gadelian or Milesian family of nations were destined to plant and rule over the Westernmost region of the European Continent, had, it may be taken for granted, already assumed in the Milesian mind the form and force of a leading substantive conviction, whose fulfilment, in the progress of events, was merely a matter of time and concurrence of the requisite circumstances. But wanting the recent grounds of irritation and animosity against the Irish rulers and people, and the projected scheme of a transmigration—on the supposition, meantime, of the practical discovery of Ireland—might, if ever realised, have at least been very indefinitely postponed. In the casual development in the Milesian consciousness, however, of a new and motive element, exigent of great and heroic deeds, Milesian affairs in consequence—so at least we are left to infer—assumed a complexion and bent sufficiently expressive, it may be imagined, of the convictions and feelings that had come haughtily as rancorously to influence. Wounded sensibility and humiliating wrongs, national and individual, equally and loudly called—it would seem on all hands to have been urgently felt—for quick redress in full and overflowing measure; and a new settlement, fraught, as it proved, with the germs of Irish nationality was destined to be laid amid scenes of war and blood, and pitiless sufferings, of which tradition has preserved but faint and imperfect record. No lack, at least, there would appear to have been of

"The red rain that makes the harvest grow."

At the epoch of the Milesian immigration—or, assuming the accuracy of legendary chronology, 3,000 odd years ago—Ireland, it may reasonably be concluded, bore much about the same geographical relation to the Iberian (Spanish) Peninsula as it does at the present day. In traversing then, as the emigrants would necessarily somehow be obliged to do, a no inconsiderable expanse of trackless ocean—formed, as is known, by a large outstretched arm of the Atlantic—much of difficulty and danger, all the circumstances considered, could not but have been encountered, if not quite successfully overcome. A direct passage across the Irish Sea from shore to shore does not, however, appear to have been attempted, neither the character of the transport service available, nor the skill in navigation as possessed by any

of the party, being probably accounted such as to warrant, with reasonable hope of success, so bold and daring a venture.* Adopting, on the contrary, as we are informed, the system of coasting common in earlier times, the Milesians, circuitously creeping along the shores of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, at length succeeded, but yet with shattered ranks, in setting foot on Irish soil; for, overtaken, when in sight of land, by a violent storm—the result, as was alleged, of a special exertion of preternatural and demoniac influences and practices on the part of the natives—dispersion of the tiny fleet in consequence ensued, several of the barques conveying, as is narrated, some of the more distinguished and heroic leaders of the expedition, together with correspondent followings of redoubted champions, trained in the art of war and redolent of blood, being engulfed, amid the attendant darkness that suddenly shut out the heavens, in a wild and furious sea. Donn, Aranann, Ir, Aireach, and Colpa,† noble scions of the illustrious house of Milesius, thus equally, but not without many regrets and painful recollections, met a watery grave.

Nor in relation to this immigrant body is it unimportant here to note that it consisted in all probability, not of a heterogeneous, but of a homogeneous people. For of all the Milesian tribes those of them, we are distinctly told, of which Breogan was the accepted patriarch alone took part in the migration. But is the Breoganic as distinguished from the cognate Milesian clans now really identifiable?‡ The question probably will generally be

* “There is nothing impossible in the opinion adopted by Dr. O'Connor, that the inhabitants of that Peninsula (the Spanish), when oppressed by the Carthaginians and Romans, may have emigrated into Ireland; but as this colony is uniformly said to have spoken the Gaelic language, which we know indeed from other information to have been the idiom of the Scoti (Milesians), the Spanish colony, if it ever existed, must have come from parts of Spain inhabited by Celts. From what we know of the Celtic people of Spain, it may be supposed that they were too barbarous to have had shipping and the means of transporting themselves beyond seas. The historical evidence of such colonisation from Spain is the legend of the Milesians, which is the most romantic of the Irish sagas.”—(*Prichard, loc. c.*)

The legendary story of Ireland is thrown overboard by Spencer as entirely fabulous. Respecting the Milesian settlement, he says that “there never was such a Spanish King as Milesius, nor any such colony.” He accounts it all as “a Milesian lye.” He thinks the principal inhabitants of early Ireland were Gauls that came hither from Spain.—(See *View of the State of Ireland*, pp. 68, 69, and 73.)

† *Keating, l. c.*

‡ Breogan, son of Bratha, who immigrating with his followers either from Gothland or Getulia, in Africa, into Spain, made war with the native tribes so successfully as in no long time to render him undisputed master of that Peninsula, founded, in honour and memory of his military exploits, the city called Brigantia (Braganza), after his own name. He was reputedly a Scythian by descent.—(*MacGeoghegan, l. c., p. 49.*)

regarded as indeterminable; but whether or not the tribes thus particularised be considered as in reality implying the Turdetani, the naturalness of the presumption in favour of their individual distinctness, socially and geographically, equally forcibly applies. In substantiation of this view probative data there are none indeed adducible; but, as strong indirect evidence, the analogy of most if not all the great historic migrations incident to the Old World will not fail to suggest itself in favour of its probable genuineness.

However, respecting the Milesians who escaped the dangers of the gale referred to, but who with their canoes, prior to their effecting a landing on the island, were divided in consequence into two principal sections—one of the divisions thus accidentally formed, and whose leader chanced to be Heber-Fionn, gained a footing at Inbher Sceine (now Bantry Bay), whither it was cast; while the other, whose conduct fell to the lot of Heremon, discovered a friendly haven at Inbher Colpa (now Drogheda), where the body, in miserable enough plight doubtless, secretly secured a lodgment in the land of their future home. As regards the necessities of life available throughout the country at large, the immigrants, whatever their apprehensions in other respects, could possibly have been influenced by no fear, since, as had been discovered by Ith and his men during their precursory expedition, both honey, acorns, milk, fish, and corn produced by cultivation, already generally abounded.* Neither, on the other hand, could any doubts have weighed respecting the condition of climate under which they were about to live, for, as equally informed through the same source, “the air was neither cold nor hot, but exceedingly temperate and wholesome.” Still, whether viewed from the Southern (Inbher Sceine) or Northern (Inbher Colpa) stand-point, the difficulties and perplexities incident to the situation might not but have inspired in the Milesian host other and very different feelings from those of hope and confidence in the destiny believed to have been reserved for them, and whose powerful hold on the imagination, though asserted thus not uninterruptedly, yet influenced probably on the whole with unabated force.

In either case the inland prospect revealed nought, we may well believe, save apparently dense and far extending forests,†

* See *MacGeoghegan*, l. c., c. i.

† The ancient forest, according to the venerable authority of Manwood, was “a certain territoric of woody grounds and fruitless pastures,” extending, as in some of our Northern forests, over the greater part of a country.—(*Quarterly Review*, No. lxxv., p. 84.)

in which probably the yew and holly, if not also the arbutus, intermingled in some proportion with the oak, and the picturesque effect of the harmonious blending of the various colours of whose diverse foliage—of yellow, red, white, and green—might hardly fail, if haply contemplated under more favourable circumstances, to have sensibly impressed the barbaric in-comers even with unmixed admiration and delight. Yet whatever the natural luxuriance or beauty of the earlier forests with which Ireland seemingly was very generally clothed, it can scarcely be doubted that they largely served as not unimportant barriers to the internal advance of an exotic people such as the Milesians, as well as a corresponding safe guard to the Irish inhabitants, occupying, as probably they more generally did, the central parts of the island. Next to impenetrable at many points they originally must have been, while, on the other hand, the formidable and ferocious animals by which they would seem to have been pretty largely stocked contributed, one should think, not ineffectually to bar or render dangerous the more accessible routes in the direction of the interior. The eagle,* the falcon, and other predaceous birds were, indeed, there; but among huge or dangerous animals of the herbivorous and carnivorous tribes, the fallow deer, stag, bear, wolf, fox, badger, and otter, more or less abounded.† Different natural impediments to a progress inland, whether from the North-Eastern or South-Western standpoint, might readily be imagined in addition; but, as matters seem to have actually stood, the crowd of difficulties and dangers that inseparably attached to the idea of successfully threading, whither it might not be well divined, a succession of tangled and many-coloured woods or forests and jungles, whatever the nature and character of the animal forms by which they were tenanted, or surmounting such physical barriers as boldly peeped out or secretly interposed between, were, it may be inferred, too glaring and imposing not to have considerably chilled down even Milesian enthusiasm.

But the repressing influences in connexion with the situation were not, it may be taken for granted, entirely referable to causes

* "Eagles breed here—not so big as is supposed."—(*Edward Campion, Historie of Ireland, 1571.*)

† Among the principal fanna of Ireland, Campion enumerates—"Kyne, excellent horses, hawks, fish, fowl, together with wolves, and grey-hounds, bigger of bone and limb than a colt, to hunt them."—(*Loc. cit., p. 17.*)

of a purely local or geographical origin. Inhabiting the heart of the island there were a wild and savage people, prone, it should seem, to the exciting pastimes of war and the chase, and of whose natural bravery and prowess in the field the traditionary experience of the invaders supplied but too forcible and painful proof. There were, indeed, the recreant and defiant enemies of their particular nation, whose ancestors some of them, by the way, of the remote foretime, had probably numbered among the combatant heroes of the Trojan war, and whose type of civilisation, as well as knowledge of letters and the arts and sciences, was the result of lengthened intercourse, in course of their various journeyings, with many peoples, but especially the Egyptians,* who, as is alleged, had generously assigned them, as in the case of the Jews, a definite locality in the region of the Nile, where of old they had resided for years. There were the ruthless villains of a not less ruthless chieftanry by whom Ith, the noble scion of an ancient and illustrious house and the pride of his race, met his premature, but yet not inglorious end, together with a crowd of his heroic following. Moreover, there it would appear that the demon of national and social discord had veritably erected to itself, so to speak, one of its more imposing and dread temples, where, as though presided over by the Furies themselves, and, subject probably to particular astral and lunar indications, strongly as continuously influenced by the secret whisperings of malignant rancour, jealousy, or lust of national or individual power or gain, the perennial product of the times, were covertly, yet persistently as viciously, transacted by naughty devotees, doubtless not without elfish glee, tell machinations of all sorts, or

“ Things that the legend never heard of,”

but whose effect, real or fancied, had yet for long years inspired in the superstitious mind of many neighbouring nations feelings

* With respect to this point in the legendary history of the Milesians, it would seem to imply that a knowledge of the art of weaving, of which, doubtless, they were possessed, and which, if previously unknown, they introduced we may be sure into Ireland, was originally acquired from the Egyptians. In Egypt weaving was a trade, whereas in Greece it was a domestic occupation of females.—(*Grote*, l. c., c. xx.) We are told by Herodotus that, in the country of the Nile, women went to market, while the men staid at home at the loom; and yet more, while the rest of the world wrought the woof up the warp, the Egyptians wrought it down.—(*Rawlinson's Herod.*, b. ii., c. xxxv., vol. ii., p. 55.) As to early Ireland, whether the men or women, or both alike, wove, or whether the art was plyed similarly or differently from what it is at present, we have no information whatever.

of no slight awe and alarm.* In the interest, then, of moral principle, as well as that of international rights and privileges, the subjugation or extirpation, if possible, of such a people irresistably commended itself to the Milesian sentiment in the light of an obligatory duty, the due discharge of which might not but merit unreserved sanction, both of the gods and man.

Such would appear, at all events, to have been the immediate object of the present invasion; its ultimate one, of course, being the settlement anew of the land. Yet who will feel disposed to imagine that the Milesians, however solicitous to ferret out and resolutely vanquish on their own ground the notorious Irish colonists of that day, might yet over-confidently forecast the final result of the struggle then impending? Who, on the contrary, the whole circumstances of the case, as they may be fairly imagined, considered, but may rather be induced to think that the chance of success was in reality a very questionable affair, and that it might not have been indistinctly felt to be so? But the die was already cast; and whatever apprehensions respecting the issue of the enterprise that may perchance have momentarily sprung up in either camp yielded again most probably to more hopeful feelings as the hour of action approached. At any rate, timidity or irresolution in this critical conjuncture of Milesian affairs would, it may be reasonably considered, have been tantamount to Milesian disaster or utter ruin. The prize to be contended for in the eyes of the nations was no less than that of empire and territorial possession, and it elicited, as well it might, the energy and prowess of heroes. Some men, it is a trite adage, have greatness thrust upon them; but the rule is, that if distinction in any particular department of life is ambitioned, it must

* This picture is not exaggerated, but is fully borne out by the terms of the legend *apropos* of the tribe—

“The Tuatha-de-Danains,
By force of potent spells and wicked magic
And conjurations horrible to hear,
Could set the ministers of hell at work,
And raise a slaughtered army from the earth,
And make them live, and breathe, and fight again.
Few could their arts withstand, or charms unbind.

They had fiends and spectres at command,
And from the tombs could call the stalking ghosts,
And mutter words and summon hideous forms,
From hell and from the bottom of the deep.”

—See Keating, *History of Ireland: The Tuatha-de-Danain Colony*.

The avenging hand of the Erinnyes—an object of deep dread—was put in motion only by the curse of a father or mother.—(See Grote, *Hist. of Gr.*, vol. ii., p. 122.)

be wrought out by the individual resources and force of character of the aspirant himself: and what is true in this respect of individuals is equally applicable to the nationalities, ancient as well as modern.

And now the Tuatha-de-Danain colonists, as (judging from their legendary character) might have been expected, were destined to approve themselves in the face of Europe and the world the sturdy and valorous antagonists of an equally sturdy and valorous foe. There might, indeed, have been Paladins before the time of Charlemagne, or of the knights of the "round table," and it would be a narrow view surely which should regard the siege of Troy or of Thebes as having exclusively monopolised the great and heroic natures of the Old World. Respecting the leading characteristics, however, of the principal champions, foreign and domestic, that may be supposed to have figured on the arena of Ireland at the momentous crisis in her history to which we are referring, speculation indeed were vain; but the stalwart foemen, as athwart the gloom of the buried centuries they faintly rise in perspective before the eye of fancy, were probably not unequally matched, whether in the appliances of a rude and primitive warfare or in constitutional bravery and might.* The stake immediately at hazard, and which was destined to be lost and won, seemed no doubt worthy, as it surely proved provocative of efforts and resources not incommensurate with the occasion or redoubted character of either class of belligerents; but by the Irish chieftains, at least, it might already have been felt, from observation or experience, that, in the distribution of her favours, fortune is not unfrequently tantalisingly capricious, and that victory, through her characteristic coyness, might yet, though never so fervently and heroically wooed, reproachfully withhold her cherished smiles: and if, unhappily, fated to vanquishment and enslavement or dispersion the wide world over, the Irish colonists, however dark and forbidding their general character, were yet too powerful or brave to yield up their lives and liberties, together with their lands and household gods, without a furious resistance. "War," says Thucydides, "makes men's tempers as hard as their circumstances."

* It is stated on the authority of Sir James Ware (*Antiq. of Ireland*, vol. i.) that, in a Sepulchral Mount, near Forrest, County Dublin, which is conjectured as having probably contained the remains of the slain at the battle of Clontarf (1014), among the number of human bones lying promiscuously together, there was found a monstrous skeleton, measuring in length nine feet.

Touching the general action of the Milesó—Tuatha-de-Danain war—if so it may be called—the legendary details that have come down to us are but faintly and imperfectly illustrative. The very reverse of this might naturally have been expected. Amplification or exaggeration of the various incidents and exploits, true or untrue, is what, in a case such as this, we should be disposed most of all to look for. The age partook largely the heroic character, and the personages, many of them on either side, that figure upon the scene are invested to some extent with attributes of which ordinary mortals are devoid. That ideally the characteristic outward manifestations on occasion should, in large degree at least, have corresponded with the superimposed or exalted preternatural and constitutional endowments arbitrarily conferred, it were logically only reasonable surely to suppose; but this, somehow, is not so. Explain it as we may, an unnatural flaw here notably betrays itself in the close relationship which inherently and avowedly subsists between the particular phenomena and the springs of action of which they are the recognised expression and known complement.

In the defence, however, which appears to have been made, the Irish colonists evinced—so at least we gather—resolution and courage in character almost Spartan. But the superior civilisation or prowess of the Milesians was destined to prevail. In two different *rencontres*—one of which occurred at Slieve-Mish, in County Kerry, and the other at Tailtean, in County Meath—the Irish tribes suffered on either occasion serious and irretrievable defeat. In both of these pitched meleés, particularly in that the scene of which is laid at Tailtean, the number killed on either side, but especially on that of the inhabitants, is represented as very large, fabulously so indeed. There can be little doubt that the designed object of such a representation as this was indirectly to magnify the numbers or heroism of the respective nationalities thus determinately and furiously engaged in mortal conflict. If there was a gaining side, there must concurrently have been a losing one, too; but, seemingly rife as it proved of great and decisive events, the infuriate and deadly strife, however chivalrously waged and fiercely maintained, no less by one party than by the other, was speedily destined—fortunately, may it not now be said?—to result in the effectual demolition by their opponents of the power and rôle of the dominant Irish clans, as well as appropriation of the coveted spoils of a not inglorious conquest. Among the mighty slain, however, on either hotly-contested field, but especially that of Tailtean, we find duly recorded the names, be-

side those of several distinguished Milesians, of the three Tuatha-de-Danain princes of the regal house of Kearnada, and kings regnant of Ireland, and those of some Irish nobles. Still it must be admitted that the chroniclers, while noting more especially, probably with the object referred to, the number, the rank, or profession of those of either host that had thus gloriously fallen on these eventful days—ever memorable as they are in bardic history—have not altogether omitted reference at the same time to deeds of individual prowess or heroism as displayed on either side, but particularly on that of the Milesians.

And now, in the violent overthrow or attendant subjugation or banishment the country by the Milesians of the Tuatha-de-Danain dynasty and subject people, the literal correctness of Druidical prophecy to that effect was—mainly through influences, doubtless, which itself had incited—thus practically vindicated. Nor, in honour of so signal a triumph, as well as in grateful homage to the divinely-inspired ken of their national seers, were pœans, wild but heartfelt, probably unsung by the victorious host in united congregation; but the business of rule and the settlement of the country afresh, we at least know, equally commanded, on the part of the potentates, immediate and thoughtful attention. Thus, as distinctly stated in the histories, the two surviving Milesian princes—Heremon and Heber, illustrious scions of the royal house of Milesius, who erst wielded the sceptre in right kingly fashion over the bright, and smiling, and sunny Gallicia (?) assumed at once the reins of government conjointly, first partitioning by mutual consent the entire island somewhat equally between them. Each of these two great territorial divisions, of which the Northern (or larger) was possessed by Heremon, and the Southern by Heber, were, we equally learn, largely parcelled out at the same time among the higher order of chieftains, principally, but not exclusively, of Milesian extraction, and whose distinguished services in the war, or active interests in the expedition, were by general agreement accounted worthy so marked and substantial a reward. The Pentarchal system—or government of the island at large by five kings,* one of which, the

* Under the pentarchal system, the five kingdoms were Leinster, Connaught, Ulster, and Munster (two portions); their respective chieftains or "Kings" being tributary to the Monarch of Ireland, who reigned by right of election.—*Campion, History of Ireland*, p. 42. "From one family more distinguished and revered than the rest, they (the Irish) choose a monarch, not with regard to primogeniture suited to times more composed, but the ablest and bravest of the particular race, as the man most likely to protect or to avenge them. To guard against the confusion of sudden accidents in a time of violence, a successor is appointed to this

monarch or suzerain of Ireland, so styled, was superior to all the rest—is presumed to have been, as we have before seen, of Firbolgian origin; but to the species of geographical allotment referred to, which involved, we may rely upon it, the principles of vassalage, the revival, under the new order of things, of this peculiar governmental scheme is in great degree fairly ascribable. In the fulness of its development, at least in the later legendary ages, it comes back upon us, very forcibly indeed, as the legitimate and inevitable product of a mode of compensation for distinguished or meritorious deeds or services, so adjudged, common alike to most if not all the great historical nations of antiquity, and which is grounded no less in nature than in the dictates of justice and right.

To this effect, then, is the legendary history of the more celebrated and important of the primeval foreign immigrations—the Milesian. And in general texture and complexion, it will scarcely fail to have been perceived that it reveals its ideal character far too distinctively to leave any room for reasonable doubt. In so far at least as the superstructure in all its various details is concerned, the legend, for all historical purposes, must be accounted as utterly and hopelessly valueless. Involved in the manifest improbability or impossibility of the incidents and events as recounted is the self-contained proof, convincing as it is, of their purely fabulous character. If, influenced as it were by a species of extatic exaltation, fiction or fable is occasionally prone to soar infinitely higher than usual, or more widely and giddily disport

“Through the wild sea of night
That hath nor ebb nor flow,”

surely then the case of the whilom Milesian settlement of Ireland must, in strictness, be placed to the account of acts of such riotous and grotesque abnormity.

But, fundamentally and essentially, is the legend nevertheless

monarch during his life, who on his demise is instantly to take the reins of government.”

In process of time the power of the monarch comes to be considerably limited. “His associates in adventure, conscious of their own merit, claim a share of dignity as well as emolument. They pay their tribute to that provincial king whom they choose monarch of the island. In other provinces they exercise all regal authority by virtue of a similar election. They have their rights independent of the monarch, and frequently vindicate them by arms against his invasions. The monarch, sensible of the danger arising from their turbulent spirit of freedom, endeavours to secure his authority, sometimes by dividing their power, sometimes by uniting the various independant states into one general interest by national conventions. In this state of things a robust frame of body, a vehemence of passion, an elevated imagination were the characteristics of the people.”—(*Leland, History of Ireland, Prel. Disc.*)

to be accounted as unhistorical or untrue? Implied in the traditionary reminiscence in which it originated, and underlying the parasitic cloud of vague and wildly unnatural surface phenomena with which the historical conception in course of the ages has become densely invested, are there discoverable, on close examination, no evidences, however faint, of the existence of an animating and pervading principle of truth? If the legend is in reality grounded in fact, the particular fact, whatever its definite signification and bearing, should of all things, if possible, be eliminated from the purely mythical elements by which it is overlaid, and viewed apart and independently, as well as in its relations, in so far as they can be made out, to other elementary facts in historical connection or association. On the other hand, absolute and unconditional rejection of all adventitious poetical investments is a necessity in the interest of history which is not less indefeasible and imperious. It must, however, be owned that in rightly plying the historical pruning hook, a peculiar competency and adroitness, to the possession of which I can make but small pretension, is obviously very essential.

If the great question of the Milesian immigration is historically insusceptible either of proof or of disproof—a proposition the correctness of which, after all, will hardly now be contested; equally so at least, on the assumption of the reality of the colony as a social unit of the period, are the yet ulterior questions in relation to its ethnical origin, early development, and primitive condition and habits of life and being. But if the bardic chronology of the epoch of this irruption* should be held as at all trustworthy, the existence in any quarter of reliable data relative to its attendant circumstances or events, much less to the social and fraternal antecedents of the particular people of which it consisted, clearly it were futile to seek for or expect. Yet, undoubtedly implied in view of the credibility of the event is the idea, if not indeed of the singleness and distinctness of the immigrant body, at least of its social beginning at some point of time, its gradual development from increments within itself as well probably as from external sources, and its varying and changeful relations and fortunes: features which, as they have been transmitted down to us, are not historical, but simply and supremely mythical or fabulous.

Meanwhile, it may be admitted as next to certain that, at a period whose chronology is wholly indeterminable, Ireland re-

* Fixed by Hector Boetius, *History of Scotland*, as quoted by Campion (*History of Ireland*), at 780 years after the Deluge, or A.M. 2486 (B.C. 1568) (P. 30.)

ceived some accession to its already existing population through the influx of a body of alien people, the result of a casual migration from the fair land of ancient Iberia, or Spain. Now, the question is, who in reality were these people? Do they or do they not really conform to our common idea of the prominent characteristics, mental and physical, in some sort distinctive of the so-called Gadelian or Milesian race? Undoubtedly Milesians they either were, or were not. Respecting their probable ethnical identification, however, the point may be attempted by different lines of research—by the ethnological and ethnographical, for example, the philological, moral and physical characteristics, &c. But this question, in some of its various aspects at least, has not indeed been overlooked or unconsidered. The result of inquiries in relation to the point, it may meantime be briefly stated, is, that the popular incursion in question consisted more probably of the Turdetanians—an Afro-Phœnician settlement at an early period in Spain, and a representative branch of the Semitic, Aramæan, or Syro-Arabian family of mankind.*

The South-Western portion of Spain was that which was occupied by the Turdetanians, together with the Turduli, at the outset of authentic record, in the Western World at least: Turdetania, so called from its inhabitants, comprising the smiling and beautiful region that lay between the Anas River (Guadiana), the mountainous country of Oretani (La Mancha), and the Mediterranean.† In the time of Strabo it already computed 200 cities; ‡ and its extreme productiveness in corn, fish, cattle, wine, and oil, as well as in gold, silver, and iron, is a topic respecting which but one opinion finds expression among the older writers. In the neighbourhood of Gades (Cadiz), Carteia, and other Phœnician settlements in this region, was the territory known to the Greeks, in the sixth century B.C., by the name of Tartessus, and the richness of whose mines, peculiarly practicable as they were, in gold and silver ore, appears to have been already widely celebrated at the period of the earliest voyages of the Phokæans in the Western Mediterranean.§ But, prior to the appearance of the Grecian traders as competitors upon the scene, the monopoly of this lucrative Tartessian trade vested exclusively in Phœnician hands, and the possession of which, according to Mr. Grote, extended over a period of three or four centuries. But, influenced by a resolute love of gain which braved the hazards

* See *Prichard, Phys. History of Mankind*, vol. iii., p. 5.

† *Ibid.*, p. 36.

‡ *Strabo*, iii., p. 149.

§ *Grote (History of Greece)*, vol. iii., c. 18.

and difficulties incidental to the pursuit, the Phœnician traders * are known to have, at a very early period, extended the sphere of their operations to other regions of the Old World than that of the Spanish Peninsula—sufficiently attractive indeed in itself, through the variety and value of its marketable commodities, to maintain unabated its character for pre-eminence as a theatre of commercial resort, as well as of a highly lucrative trade. It was from Gades as a centre that these primitive seafarers, pushing their coasting voyages yet farther, established relations with the tin miners of Cornwall, perhaps also with the amber gatherers from the sea board of the Baltic. Whether, however, in course of their speculative but eminently peaceful and civilising pursuits, similar relations were, at or about the same time, equally contracted with the mining or industrial portion of the population of Ireland, is not quite so certain, though the circumstance is far from improbable. But should such have proved to be the case, an explanation of the mode by which the Turdetanians found

* Dr. Arnold observes that the "first visits of the Phœnicians to Spain are placed at a very remote period. Some stories ascribed the foundation of Gades (Cadiz) to Archilaus, the son of Phœnix—Phœnix and Cadmus being the supposed founders of Tyre and Sidon, and belonging to the earliest period of Greek tradition; while other accounts of a more historical character make the origin of Gades contemporary with the reign of the Athenian Codrus—that is, about 1,000 years before Christ. Three hundred years later, Isaiah (23, 10) describes the downfall of Tyre as likely to give deliverance to the land Tarshish: i.e. to the South of Spain, where the Phœnicians had established their dominion. In the time of Ezekiel, the Tyrian trade with Spain was most flourishing; and the produce of the Spanish mines, silver, iron, tin, and lead, are especially mentioned as the articles which came from Tarshish to Phœnician ports (27.12). Nor did the Phœnicians confine themselves to a few points on the sea coast; they were spread over the whole South of Spain; and the greatest number of the towns of Turdetania were still inhabited in Strabo's time by people of Phœnician origin (lii., p. 149). They communicated many of the arts of life to the natives, and among the rest the early use of letters; for the characters which the Iberians used in their writing before the time of the Romans can scarcely have been any other than Phœnician Carthaginian writers spoke of a great expedition of the Tyrian Hercules into Spain, at the head of an army of Medes, Persians, Armenians, and other nations of the East (*Sallust, Jugurtha*, c. xviii.). Megasthenes, the Greek traveller and historian of India (*quoted by Strabo*, xv., i, and by *Josephus, Antiquity*, x. 2.), said that Tearco, King of Ethiopia, and Nebuchodonosar, King of the Chaldeans, had both carried their arms as far as Spain. Amongst the innumerable countries which were made the scene of the adventures of the Greek chiefs on their return from Troy, after they had been scattered by the famous storm, the coasts of Iberia are not forgotten. But settlements of Greek chiefs on their way home from Troy are mere romances, as unreal as the famous siege of Paris by the Saracens in the days of Charlemagne, or as the various adventures and settlements of Trojan exiles, which were invented in the middle ages. Whether any real events are disguised in the stories of the expeditions of Hercules, of Tearco, and of Nebuchodonosar, is a question more difficult to answer; for the early migrations from the East to the West are buried in impenetrable obscurity. But the Persians and Ethiopians may have made

their way to Ireland, as well as the means by which they became impressed with the fact of its existence, will at once, and with high degree of feasibility, suggest itself.

Of all the Iberian tribes, the Turdetanians are on all hands admitted to have been the most civilised and improvable section, well suited, in the words of a distinguished modern historian, * for commercial relations with the settlers who occupied the Isle of Leon, and who established the temple, afterwards so rich and frequented, of the Tyrian Hercules. In the neighbourhood of the Bœtis river (Guadalquivir), they affected Roman manners, adopting the Latin tongue, to the neglect or forgetfulness of their native language. Of their acquaintance with the use of letters there is no room for doubt, while equally certain is it that their public archives were not wanting in records of a high antiquity. They were possessed of poems and laws composed in metre, which, as they themselves averred, were 6,000 years old, or, according to Niebuhr, were contained in 6,000 verses (εἴη).† Other nations of Spain, indeed, were at the same time not unaccustomed to the art of writing, but the form of characters employed, as well as the language in use, were different.‡ The prevalent dialects among the Spaniards were those of the Euskarian speech; while, on the contrary, those of the Celtic and Iberian tribes were indicative of a different and distinct language—the idioms of both, as in the case of the Celtiberians, being intermixed or blended in a common tongue. But of the native tribes of the Peninsula these, according to Dr. Prichard, constituted no small or unimportant part.§

Admitting, then, the Turdetanian immigration as a marked traditional social feature in the history of legendary Ireland, the

their way into Spain before historical memory, as the Vandals and Arabs invaded it in later times. The fact itself is not incredible, if it rested on any credible authority.—(*History of Rome*, vol. iii., c. 47.)

* *Mr. Grote, History of Greece*, vol. iii., p. 365.

† *Prichard*, loc. cit. pp. 37-8.

‡ With respect to the tribes by which the Phœnicians, at the date of their earliest visit, found Spain to have been already peopled, and to which the Greeks gave the name of Iberians, Dr. Arnold, on the authority of Strabo (iii., p. 139), remarks, that, although they spoke many various dialects, yet they all belonged to the same race. "It cannot be doubted," he adds, "that their race and language still exist, that the Basques, who inhabit the Spanish Provinces of Guipiscoa, Biscay, Alava, and Navarre, and who in France occupy the country between the Adour and the Bidassoa, are the genuine descendants of the ancient Iberians. Their language bears marks of extreme antiquity; and its unlikeness to the other languages of Europe is very striking, even when compared with the Welsh, or with the Sclavonic."—(*History of Rome*, vol. iii., ch. 47.)

§ *Phys. History of Mankind*, vol. iii., p. 16.

question as to the identity of the Turdetanian and Milesian colonial foundations in that island, or of the oneness of the idea in relation to both, at once and very forcibly suggests itself. In reference to their character respectively for genuineness, marked contrast, in so far as we are able to judge, obtains; for, while the former has in its favour not only possibility, but probability amounting almost to certainty, the latter, as will be evident from the details from the histories already recounted, is apparently equally impossible and improbable, and consequently fabulous. Now, on the supposition of the establishment of the Turdetanian foundation at some period most probably between the seventh and tenth century B.C., why is it, it may be asked, that so eventful a circumstance should have escaped bardic observation? Nominally, and nominally only, apparently, has it done so. And since a single migration from Spain to Ireland * is all that finds a place in traditionary record, it follows almost as a matter of certainty that, in the history of the so-styled Milesian plantation, there is presented to us in reality that of the Turdetanian. For the narrative of this transaction must be viewed as the work not of a contemporary, but of a much later period; and it may be readily conceived that, in the historical idea or reminiscence which served as its nucleus, one and the same people might have been described under different appellatives. Nor is this view original to myself, for it is substantially that of a late distinguished historical essayist, Miss Beaufort.†

* Spencer observes that, either before or after the Nemedian (Scythian) settlement of Ireland, "another nation came out of Spain, arriving in the West of Ireland: whether native Spaniards, Greeks, Africans, or Goths, or some other of the different northern nations which overran Christendom, is not known; only the Irish Chroniclers agree in their coming from Spain."—(l. c. p. 61.)

† See *Trans.*, R. I. A., vol. xv.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

In reference to the subject matter of the earlier part of his history of Rome, or that which relates more especially to the period of the kingship, Dr. Arnold, in more places than one, is naturally led, not without strong reason, to compare or contrast the extreme paucity of the reliable materials in reality available with the exceeding *richesse* in this respect that pertained to mythical or unhistoric Greece.

In the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, and "Works and Days" of Hesiod, if not too to some extent in the poems of Sappho and other poets who lived before the time of Peisistratus, not only are the leading social features and popular customs and usages of fabulous Greece reflected, largely and faithfully it is believed, to the life, but consistent form and symmetrical proportion is imparted to the stirring or eventful national legends, such as might alone be conferred through the influence and plastic power of genius. Thus, far back in heroic or pre-historic Greece the elements of a national literature and a national history were equally securely and truthfully founded by means of imperishable, though as yet unwritten song.

It needs not, however, be said that it fell not to the lot of legendary Rome, any more than to that of legendary Ireland, to be able to boast of any poet beyond the calibre of the mere bard or rhapsode. Other atmosphere than that of Greece was as yet unfavourable or opposed to the inspirations of the muse. It equally followed accordingly that, in the non-development of the poetical faculty, in the proper acceptation of the term, the characteristics of the national mind were thus unnoted and unreflected in transmitted epic or lyric verse. In the absence of a living portraiture in some sort of men and manners, or of the activities of mental and social being, which creative fancy, in eliminating from the outer world of life and action and assimilating to itself, perpetuates in pictures that may never die out, the elements of truth as progressively developed thus became overgrown and almost smothered up by a parasitic crop of rankest fiction or fable. In the case of early Ireland, therefore, no less than in that of early Rome, the

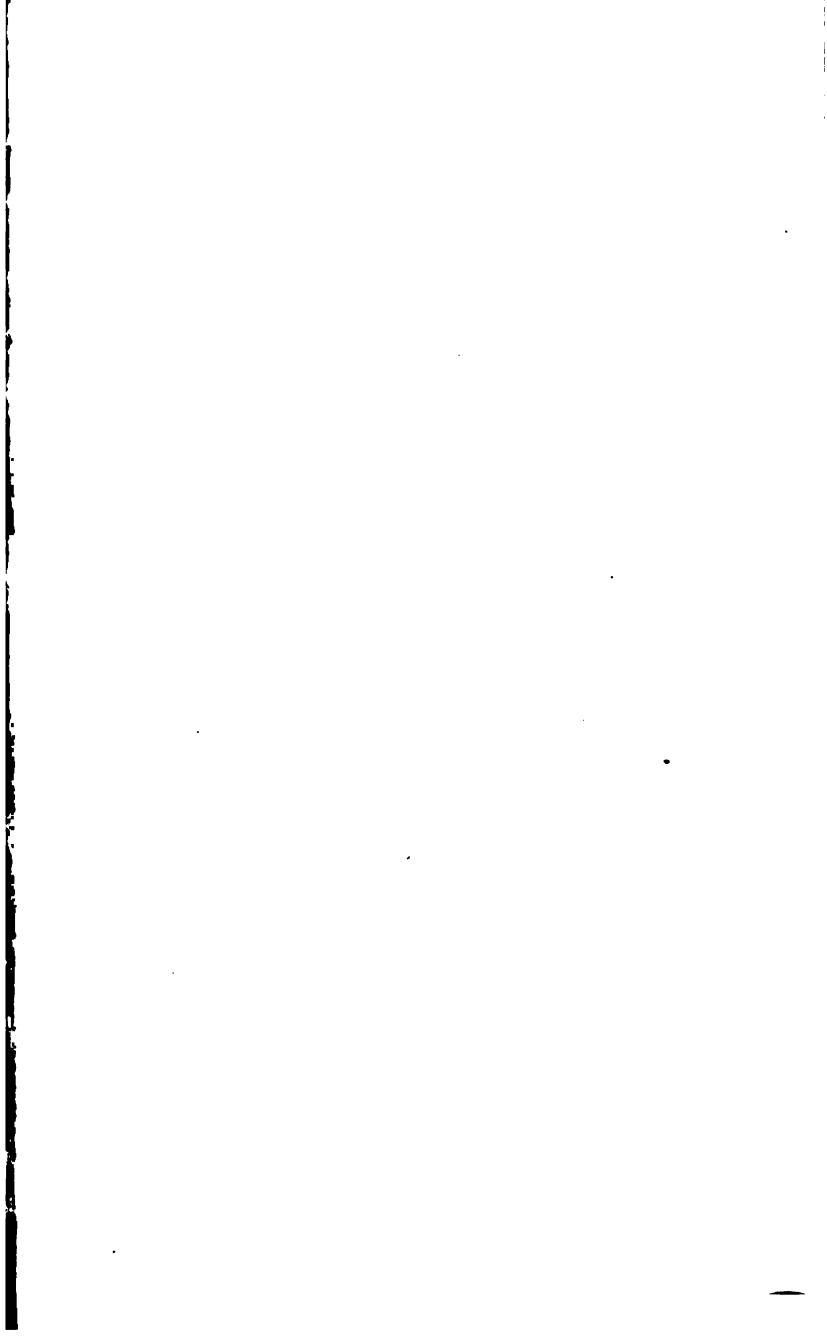
materials for history, if discoverable, are to be sought elsewhere than in sources similar to those whence a knowledge of Grecian story of the remote foretime is largely derivable. Still it is perfectly competent for a people to write their history by other means than that of written language or some inscribed character; and to write it out too.

Of those ancient nations that have exercised most powerful and enduring influence over the human mind, the Hebrews inscribed their history, not on monuments in the phonetic or hieroglyphic character, but on the conscience and heart of humanity in all time. The Greeks, on the other hand, wrote their history in poetry, philosophy, and the arts, and whose power and influence in reference to the intellectual energy and character of the nations must, in effect of its sharp, well defined, and deeply engraved tracings, be viewed as lasting as human imagination or thought itself. Again, the Romans occupied themselves from first to last—from the time of the foundation of the monarchy down to that of Trajan, if not even in some sort to that of Justinian—in writing the history of Rome; and they wrote that history on the face of the whole world with a pen of iron, by their wars, their conquests, their laws, and their language—traces of which, in some parts of Europe at least, have still survived, almost unscathed, the destructive violence of time.

The Irish employed their intellectual energies for the most part in another field. From the date of the great immigrations as now recounted down to the Anglo-Norman invasion in the eleventh century, if not indeed after a manner to that of the Elizabethan period, they devoted themselves busily to writing out the history of Ireland; and they too succeeded in writing out that history in yet legible characters, not by their petty mutual differences and conflicts, nor by their laws or language, nor even by the results of their educational and missionary labours in neighbouring benighted lands, but through their monumental structures, both religious, sepulchral, commemorative, and warlike, and whose existing remains are the silent but eloquent teachers of so much of all that is really known of the dark traditionary era. Well, therefore, may we look back on those monumental relics of the unhistoric past—"wrecks of history," as they and such of them have been finely termed by Lord Bacon—with a respect and reverence which may indeed increase with time, but which, it is confidently hoped and believed, may never be impaired.

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